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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF
HENRY THE SECOND,
AND OF

RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS;

With the EVENTS of the Period, from 1154 to 1216.

In which the Character of THOMAS A BECKET is vindicated
from the Attacks of GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON.

Ut nihil nimie, nihil nisi verè dicatur.

WIL. MALM.

By the Rev. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

VOLUME III.

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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

T H I R D V O L U M E.

B O O K V.

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OF THE
REIGN
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KING JOHN.
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O O B K

V.

1207.

Stephen Langton appointed to the ſee of Canterbury.

AT this time, there was no primate. — Hubert had died two years before, when ſome young monks of the convent of Chriſt-church, ſecretly elected Reginald, their ſubprior, and placing him on the archiepiſcopal throne, in the ſilence of the night, exacted an oath, that he would reveal to no one what they had done, without their further permiſſion. He ſwore it, and inſtantly, with a few companions, ſet out for Rome, hoping that the pontiff would ratify the choice, which had been made. But the vain man had hardly reached the continent, when he publicly announced his election, and ſhewed the letters he bore with him to his holineſs. He continued his journey. — Informed of the diſingenuous conduct, the young monks angrily joined their brethren; and they agreed to petition leave from the king to elect an archbiſhop. The man of their firſt choice had violated the compact, by which his promotion held. John granted their requeſt: but privately

he signified to the messengers, that the bishop of Norwich would be peculiarly pleasing to him; that he only had been admitted to the secrets of his heart; and that his translation to the see of Canterbury would be as advantageous to the kingdom, as to himself. The monks complied, and the bishop being chosen, was solemnly proclaimed primate, in the presence of the king, who, at the same time, invested him with all the possessions and rights of the see¹. — Thus was opened a new source of contention, the progress of which will fill with misery the remaining years of John.

B O O K

V.

1207.

Apprehensive that Reginald, who was gone to Rome, might possibly obtain the good-will of Innocent, the king thought it more expedient, to send thither a deputation of monks, at the head of whom was Elias de Brantfield. Their expenses were royally defrayed from the treasury; and the object of their mission was, to procure from the pontiff, the confirmation of the choice lately made by themselves and the king. — But the English prelates of the diocese of Canterbury, who had not even been consulted on the occasion, bore the neglect impatiently. If hitherto they had not singly chosen their

¹ Mat. Par. an. 1205. Chron. Walt. Heming.

4 HISTORY OF THE REIGN

B O O K primate, they had, at least, concurred with the
V. monks, and the privilege, they maintained,
1207. was their equal claim. To support this claim, and to complain of the late transaction, the bishops also sent deputies to Rome. To the person of the new primate they had no objection. — Innocent was thus acknowledged supreme arbiter in the contest, and his decision, it seemed, was called for. The parties appeared, in a public consistory, before him; the agents of the bishops, the friends to Reginald, and the deputation of monks, in the interest of John.

The cause of the prelates was first decided. It appeared, from ancient usage and special grants, that the right of election belonged to the monks. The bishops, indeed, only pretended that jointly with them, they had chosen the three last primates. It had been so; but the convent invariably resisted their interference, nor had they been influenced by their votes. The monks assembled in chapter: the bishops often at Westminster, and not on the same day. Innocent therefore, to decide a controversy, which had long been agitated, decreed that the monks, in future, should be the sole electors. The arrangement was indecent, and adverse to the genuine spirit of the ecclesiastical establishment; but a

precedent, which centuries had confirmed
merited, perhaps, some attention.

B O O K

V.

1207.

Now pleaded the monks. The few who adhered to Reginald, requested the confirmation of their choice; and the king's deputies presented the bishop of Norwich. Thus the latter reasoned. Reginald, they said, was clandestinely elected in the night, without the usual ceremonies, without the royal assent, and not with the concurrence of the seniors of the convent. "We petition, therefore," they continued, "that John of Norwich be confirmed our primate, whose election was canonically made, and in the presence, and with the consent of our lord the king." — "Your boasted election," replied the solicitor for Reginald, "must be necessarily void: because whatever ours was, irregular even and unjust, it should have been annulled, before you proceeded to a second choice. I petition, that Reginald be our primate." — Much altercation ensued: it did not seem, that the parties could be induced to coalesce in one choice; and Innocent judged that both candidates had been uncanonically elected. He took the advice of his cardinals, and pronounced sentence, whereby both elections were voided, and both candidates forbidden to prosecute any further claim to the

6 HISTORY OF THE REIGN

B O O K V. 1207. fee of Canterbury². And the bribe which was offered to him, amounting, it was said, to eleven thousand marks, he rejected with indignation³. — That the pontiff, on this occasion, exceeded the limits of his prerogative, as it was then admitted, and which the parties, by their application, themselves acknowledged, will not be easily shown.

It was then signified to the deputies, that they were at liberty to elect whom else they pleased, provided he were qualified, and a native of England. The latter condition might surprise, but it was soon unriddled; for the pontiff recommended to their choice Stephen Langton, a member of the sacred college, whose science, he said, and virtues were conspicuous, and whose promotion would be profitable to the king and the English church. — The king, it appears, had promised his deputies, to receive the primate they should elect; but they, at the same time, had sworn to elect no other, than the bishop of Norwich. They replied, therefore, that, without the consent of their master and that of their community, no choice, they should make, would be deemed canonical, or agreeable

² Mat. Par. an. 1207. Chron. Walt. Heming.

³ Gest. Inn. n. 131.

to the laws and liberties of the king and kingdom. “Your power,” answered Innocent warmly, “is sufficiently ample; and as to the “royal assent, learn, that here it has not been “thought necessary, when elections are made in “the presence of the pontiff. I command you, “under pain of excommunication, to chuse him “for your primate, whom I named to you.” — The monks, intimidated by the menace, reluctantly and with murmurs, assented. Only Elias de Brantfield would not comply; while the others, singing the *Te Deum*, led Stephen to the altar: and on the seventeenth of June, he was consecrated by Innocent himself at Viterbo, where he then resided*.

Stephen Langton, born in England, had studied at Paris, where his literary acquirements had raised him to offices of high dignity. He was a canon of the cathedral church, and chancellor of the university. There he remained many years. He also possessed a prebend in the church of York. But the fame of his learning and many virtues reaching the ears of Innocent, he called him to Rome, employed him in the concerns of the see, and promoted him to the dignity of cardinal priest, under the title of St.

* Mat. Par. Gest. Inn. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

8 HISTORY OF THE REIGN

BOOK Chryfogonus. An ecclesiastic, in the confidence
V. of the ambitious Innocent, and by him forced
1207. on the see of Canterbury, would be, it was with
 reason apprehended, a dangerous agent of his
 court. We shall see what his conduct was.

Controversy
 between the
 Pontiff and
 John.

But the pontiff, well aware that a prince of
 John's temper would not be led without difficul-
 ty, wrote to him, in terms of much gentleness,
 extolling the merits of Langton, whose learning,
 he said, and virtues would be beneficial to him;
 and exhorting him to receive him kindly as his
 primate. Previously to this, he had sent him
 four golden rings, richly set; and to enhance
 the value of the present, he explained, by
 various conceits, the mysteries they signified.
 John was pleased. — Innocent also wrote to the
 monks of Canterbury, commanding them to
 receive the archbishop, and to obey him. — The
 charms of the rings at once vanished, when the
 second letter came. Furious at the unexpected
 news, he turned his rage against the monks.
 They were all traitors, he said: had first chosen
 Reginald; then, to palliate their crime, had
 elected the bishop of Norwich; had taken money
 from his treasury; had gone to Rome to procure
 the confirmation of this measure; and to
 complete their infamy, had there chosen Stephen
 Langton, his declared enemy, and had obtained

his consecration. He dispatched two knights, with an armed band, to drive the monks from their convent. They marched to Canterbury, and entering the cloisters drew their swords. "In the king's name," they exclaimed, "we command you, as traitors, to quit the realm; or, in a moment, we will set fire to these walls, and burn you with your convent." The menace sufficed. All the monks, whom sickness did not prevent, departed, and going into Flanders, they were received into the convents there. But their effects were seized and confiscated; and the lands of the archbishopric and of the monastery lay without culture⁵.

He then sent messengers with letters to the pope. They contained, in reproachful and menacing language, that, having injuriously set aside the bishop of Norwich, he had made primate one Stephen Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and educated in the kingdom of France. amongst his enemies; and what was still more prejudicial to the liberties of his crown, he had not even asked his consent to the unprecedented measure. It was truly wonderful, he continued, that neither his holiness, nor the court of Rome, should have reflected, how necessary his friendship

⁵ Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK had till now been to them, and that they drew
V. more wealth from England, than from all other
1207. states on this side the Alps. The liberties, of his
 crown, he added, he would defend, if necessary, with his life; and that no consideration should prevail on him, to relinquish the election of the bishop of Norwich. “ If this be refused
 “ to me,” he concluded, “ no further journey shall be made to Rome, to the serious
 “ detriment of my kingdom. And as the prelates,
 “ I have near me, are amply stored with
 “ science. I will no more beg from strangers
 “ either advice or justice.”

The reply of Innocent to the messengers, and by letter to the king, was temperate, firm, and in the genuine spirit of the Roman see. Having noticed the petulancy of his language, which he contrasts with the moderation of his own address, he proceeds to the objections made against the primate. He was educated in France, he allows, and what then? There he had gained renown and science. But he is a stranger, it is pretended. Yet to this stranger, he says, the king had thrice written, since his promotion to the sacred college, and it had been his wish to have drawn him near to his own person. By the ties of

nature and duty he was attached to his king and country. As a man highly qualified to undertake the great charge, the monks had chosen him; and on that election he insists. But the royal consent, it is urged, had not been asked. — Here the pontiff informs us, what the historian had not related, that two monks had been deputed from Rome to the king, to obtain his consent, and to request that, he would send his agents who might witness the transaction. The monks had been detained on the road; but the letters they bore, had been delivered to the king's messengers. The electors, also, he says, had by letter implored his assent. “And I,” continues Innocent, “who possess supreme jurisdiction
“over the see of Canterbury, and who know
“that, when elections are made at Rome, it was
“never customary to wait for the consent of
“kings, I implored your royal approbation.
“That I did, and to do more was not my
“duty. I then proceeded, as the holy canons
“have directed.” He exhorts him to acquiesce in the just measure, and not to involve himself in difficulties, which may prove inextricable; not to listen to the counsels of false friends, “Resistance to God and the church,” he concludes, “in a cause, for which the glorious
“martyr, Thomas, lately shed his blood, must

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BOOK V.
1207. “bring danger to you; particularly as your
“predecessors, Henry and your brother, abjured
“the pernicious practice, in the hands of the
“apostolic legates. If you submit, it shall be my
“care, that the rights of your crown be not
“injured’.”

Thus spoke the imperial Innocent: but neither were his maxims new, nor his conduct unconstitutional. If he was not free to decide on the merits of the election, why were deputies sent to plead before him? In them, by the king himself, was allowed to reside the power of choosing a primate. They chose Stephen Langton. His consecration only was precipitate; before which the royal approbation should have been received, whatever might be the prerogative of the Roman see. That decency demanded.

In co-operation with the pontiff, other means were used to soothe or intimidate the king to submission. Nothing prevailed. The cardinals were, therefore, convened: after which, orders were sent to the bishops of London, of Ely, and of Worcester, to wait on the king, in the name of Innocent. Their further commission was, to exhort him, with a respectful liberty, no longer to oppose, what was called the will

’ Mat. Par.

of heaven; but to receive Langton, and relieve the church of Canterbury. Should they find him obdurate, then were they commanded to lay England under an interdict, and to menace the king with a heavier rod, if he did not relent. — The same messenger brought letters to the suffragan bishops, requiring from them obedience to their primate, and strenuous exertions in the cause of their liberties. — He brought also letters to the English barons; wherein they were requested, to use their influence on the monarch's mind, and thus prevent the evils, which his rebellion against the church must draw on the nation*. — Where was now the spirit of the lowly Jesus, whose vicars or immediate deputies these men, in their proudest domination, still dared to style themselves?

Early in the spring, the three bishops waited on the king. They declared their commission, and humbly entreated him, to admit the primate, and to recal the exiled monks. His happiness, they said, depended on it, and the welfare of the state; for that the pontiff must be obeyed. — John grew pale with anger, and his lips quivered. — They proceeded to menace the interdict. “No more,” exclaimed the king

1208.

England laid
under an in-
terdict.

* Mat. Par. Inn. ep. 113. 159, 160. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V. 1208. furiously, and he inveighed against the pope and his cardinals. “By God’s teeth, if either you, “or any others, dare to interdict my territories, “I will send you and all your clergy to Rome, “and confiscate your property.” And as to the Romans, he added, who might be found in his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and cut off their noses, and dispatch them to his holiness, that nations might witness their infamy. “You; be gone from my sight, if you “have any solicitude for your persons.” They trembled, and retired⁹.

Some weeks passed, and the sacred mandate urged. It was lent. The bishops, therefore, pronounced the sentence; and in a moment, the nation felt all its direful effects. I have said what they were. The public functions of religion ceased, confession only excepted, the sacrament of the dying, and the baptism of infants. Not a bell was heard to toll; not a taper was lighted; not a canticle was sung, through the realm of England. The bodies of the dead lay unburied, or they were covered with unhallowed earth, in the fields or by the way-side, without a prayer or the ministry of the priesthood¹⁰. —

⁹ Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

¹⁰ Ibid.

But the bishops, having done their work, secretly withdrew to the continent, and with them went those of Bath and Hereford. Langton, mean while, had come to Pontigny, where he breathed the air, which Becket had breathed, and where, by contemplation, he might learn to emulate his zeal and his unbending firmness. But heaven had blessed him with a happier prudence.

BOOK

V.

1208.

Naturally impetuous, with no good sense to moderate the propensity, and now goaded by passion, and ill-advised, the king, who should have striven to conciliate the minds of his people, and thereby strengthen a cause, which was, in some points, just, gave way to the extravagance of rage, and multiplied his enemies. As he had threatened, he sent officers to command the other bishops and their dependents, instantly to quit the kingdom, and to seek redress, if they wanted it, at Rome. He seized all the revenues of the church, appointing laymen to their administration: took possession of the abbey, and turned their wealth into the exchequer. Many ecclesiastics were imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated; and their concubines, says the historian, were taken from them, and compelled to buy their liberty by heavy fines. But the prelates, directed by a wise policy,

The king's
vengeance.

BOOK refused to leave the kingdom, and the officers
V. had not been empowered to use force. They
1208. remained therefore, subsisting on the slender allowance, with which they were supplied¹¹.

A negociation, at this time, was opened with Rome, but it ended fruitlessly: and John, fearing that a heavier sentence might follow the interdict, which he valued little, resolved to provide against it. Personal excommunication, he knew, would break asunder every tie, which bound his vassals to the throne. He appointed commissioners, with an armed force, to wait on all the nobles of the realm, and on them principally, whose allegiance he suspected most, requiring hostages from every family, that, in case of need, he might have it in his power to awe their conduct. Many obeyed the mandate, and gave him the desired pledge; their children, or their nearest friends. They came to the castle of William de Braouse, a noble baron, and demanded hostages. "My sons shall not go near him," said Matilda their mother to the officers: "he murdered his own nephew, whom he should have protected." — "Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman," observed the baron chidingly. — Then turning to the

¹¹ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

officers:

officers: “ If I have done any thing,” said he, “ against my sovereign, let a day and place be named; for I am ready, and ever shall be, to make him satisfaction, without hostages, according to the judgment of his court and of my peers.” The answer was reported to the king, who tyrannically gave secret orders, for the immediate apprehension of the whole family: but they escaped into Ireland. They afterwards perished miserably¹². — Thus passed the first year.

BOOK

V.

1208,

Whilst England and its king, were thus involved in the consequences of an inglorious controversy, Otho, that king's nephew, had gained an empire. I related the beginning of the noble contest between him and Philip of Suabia, through which the latter was ever successful. The interest of the ecclesiastical princes and the patronage of Rome, which sided with Otho, bent before the superior strength of his rival; and after a battle lost, in 1206, he was compelled to retire within his own territory of Brunswick. Then his friends deserted him; and soon afterwards, even Innocent, whose politics could move with the stream, became less obdurate, and

Otho succeeds
to the empire.

¹² Mat. Par. Annal. de Margan.

BOOK listened to terms of peace. Otho came to
V. England, and received from his uncle five thou-
1208. sand marks, the only aid it was in his power to
 bestow. And now the final exaltation of Philip
 seemed secure. He had an army in the field,
 ready to crush the weak remains of an expiring
 opposition; and his ambassadors were gone to
 Rome, to prepare for his brows the imperial
 diadem; when, in a moment, the brilliant
 prospect vanished. Otho de Wittelsbach, to
 whom he had refused his daughter, entered his
 chamber, and at a single stroke laid him dead at
 his feet. It was at Bamberg, on the twenty-
 second of June, in the present year¹³.

The noble-minded Otho received the news
 with horror. But the states assembled, and
 unanimously elected him king of Germany and
 the Romans; and to secure, more lastingly, the
 return of concord, Beatrix, a minor daughter of
 his late rival, was affianced to him. To the
 states he granted their requisition of such ancient
 rights, as they demanded; and he renounced all
 claim to the immense territories, of which his
 father, Henry the Lion, had been despoiled.
 The next step was, to regain the love of Inno-
 cent. This he did; but the promises he made to

¹³ Chron. Ursperg, &c. ap. Murat.

him, of restoring to the church the lands of the countess Matilda, and other principalities, were highly imprudent, and proved the source of fatal disasters. At the head of a splendid army, Otho then marched into Italy, receiving, as he went, the homage of the people, and at Milan, the regal crown. The pontiff waited at Viterbo. Otho crossed the Apennines, and passing through Tuscany, joined Innocent at Viterbo. The meeting was most gracious; and together they proceeded to Rome, where, after repeating the engagements he had entered into, Otho was crowned by the pontiff. Clouds soon darkened this too refulgent scene¹⁴.

The English monarch persevered in his mad career. He had led an army against Scotland, and compelled its king to purchase peace, and to surrender his two daughters, as hostages for its performance. And now returning, with the vain pomp of a conqueror, he commanded the hedges of his forests to be cut down, and the ditches to be levelled, that the deer and other animals might consume the produce of the fields. Before this, he had issued a proclamation, forbidding any feathered game to be taken. They were the acts of a tyrant: but he still hoped to

BOOK
V.

1209.

Conduct of
John, and the
further de-
signs of Inno-
cent.

¹⁴ Murat. ut sup.

BOOK

V.

secure the allegiance of his insulted subjects, by requiring a renewal of their homage. They renewed their homage; even children twelve years old¹⁵.

But the pontiff, who, from the refractory spirit of the king, saw the little success which would attend the interdict, resolved to enforce his power; and the sacred college advised the measure. He sent orders to the three bishops, whom he had before employed, to excommunicate the king of England, and to publish the sentence in all the churches of the realm. But the bishops were themselves absent, and their brethren, to whom they delegated the high commission, from motives of fear or favor, withheld the fatal censure. The mandate, however, was known; and the news, in whispers, was repeated from door to door. An officer of the exchequer quitted his post, alledging, that he might not serve an excommunicated prince¹⁶. — The reader knows what were the direful effects of excommunication.

1210.

Christmas again returned, when the nobles met their king at Windsor; for the sentence still remained unpublished, and they feared, by fresh irritation, to excite his vengeful jealousy.

¹⁵ Mat. Par. Annal Waver. Chron. de Mailros.

¹⁶ Mat. Par. Mat. West, an. 1219. Annal. Waver.

But the Jews were now called on, to replenish his exhausted treasury; and that they might not evade the contribution, they were seized, and imprisoned, and tortured. Thus was a great sum collected; and with this he levied an army, and prepared to sail for Ireland. Not that any circumstances, then peculiarly alarming, demanded his presence; but it seemed his wish, to affect an appearance of occasional vigor, and to dissipate, by military parade, the sullen combinations of his English vassals. — Since the death of Henry, Ireland, a prey to faction and contentious feuds, had exhibited the same scenes of violence, as had long afflicted it. The English settlers, by various fortune, supported their conquests, and sometimes extended them; and sometimes the native princes prevailed. On the sixth of June, the king landed, at the head of a formidable army. No-where was resistance made. The refractory barons, who had incurred his indignation, retired from the storm; while the Irish chieftains repaired to his court, consenting to pay tribute, and to make their submissions. It was then wisely ordained, that the English laws and customs should, in future, be followed; and a regular code or charter was established. The arrangement, doubtless, only extended to those, who acknowledged allegiance to the throne of England; but

BOOK

V.

1210.

B O O K what province could, at that time, claim
V. independent sovereignty? The monarch of the
1210. land had submitted. Thus, under the same head and the same system of polity, were both kingdoms united. For the more regular administration of the laws, a division, likewise, of some provinces into counties was made, over which presided sheriffs and other officers. No military exploit marked this auspicious journey, and John returned, after an absence of two months, leaving the bishop of Norwich, his deputy. His first care was, as he had received instructions, to cause money to be coined of the same weight and form, as that of England, for the convenience of traffic, between the two kingdoms, and which, by a royal proclamation, was made current in both¹⁷.

John landed, in triumphant confidence, and summoned all the heads of the religious houses to meet him at London. Money was again wanted. They obeyed the call, men and women; to whom he declared his exigences, and demanded an immediate aid. The fate of the Jews menaced them, and they complied; raising, says the historian, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds. With this he levied another

¹⁷ Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

army, and marched into Wales, striking terror to the hearts of its princes, and desolating the country, even to the foot of Snowdon. The princes submitted, and gave him hostages. — But at Northampton, which, on his return, he visited, he met the ministers of an all-puissant monarch, before whom the laurels of his late achievements faded. These were Pandulphus, a subdeacon in the Roman church, and the confidential servant of Innocent, and Durandus, a knight of the temple. They were sent by the pontiff, to propose terms of accommodation, between the king and his clergy. In their first requisition, that Langton should be received, and the proscribed monks and bishops be permitted to return, he readily acquiesced. But when they spoke of the restitution of their effects, and a full reparation of the damages they had sustained, John rejected the demand. The conference thus closed, and the nuncios returned into France¹⁸.

Before this time, also Otho had been excommunicated. He had violated his promise, made to Innocent; had even invaded the territories of the holy see; and had dared to attack the possessions of young Frederic, king of Sicily, the

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¹⁸ Mat. Par. Mat. West. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

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vassal of Rome, and the ward of Innocent. The sentence operated; and we shall see its completion, in the utter downfall of that incautious prince. — Mean while, the refractory behaviour of John had been reported at Rome; and Innocent, whose mind acquired vigor from the swell of obstacles, at once resolved to proceed in the display of the mighty power, which then was attached to the tiara. Before it the imperial diadem and the crown of England should bend. He published a bull, which absolved all the vassals of the king from their allegiance, and expressly forbid them, under pain of excommunication, to hold intercourse with their prince, at his table, in the cabinet, or in private conversation. But he still had friends, who did not desert him, and who, perhaps, in an age of darkness, could appreciate this shameless abuse of power. Among these were three bishops, and William earl of Salisbury, and Fitzpeter the justiciary, and twenty-seven barons, whose names are recorded¹⁹.

For the first time, has William, earl of Salisbury, been mentioned. He was the other son of Rosamond, better known, in the annals of chivalry, by the name of Longsword. What

¹⁹ Mat. Par.

had been his education, or the first incidents of his youth, is not, I believe, recorded; but, in the last reign, on the death of William, earl of Salisbury, son to him who was slain by Lufignan, Longsword married Ela, the heiress of the noble house, and with her received the honors and arms of Salisbury. In the troubles of this reign, with a brotherly attachment, he generally sided with the king.

The Welsh, impatient of their late submission, again broke from their mountains, and laying waste the country, returned laden with spoil. Acts of wanton barbarity had aggravated the insult. John, therefore, with a mighty force prepared to march against them, swearing, he would level their bulwarks, and erase from the earth the name of Welshman. He was at Nottingham; and before he would taste food, he commanded the hostages to be hanged, who had been surrendered to him, the year before. But as he sat at table, some minutes after, indulging himself with his usual intemperance, a messenger entered with letters from the king of Scotland. He was followed by another messenger from Lewellyn, a Welsh prince. He also brought letters. They whispered to him, that the contents were secret and important. After table, he retired; and the letters were read.

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BOOK They spoke of a conspiracy, and warned him to
V. beware. John ridiculed the admonition, and
1211. ordered his army to proceed to Chester. But
 here other messengers came, and their advice
 still imported, that, if he pursued his plan of
 war against Wales, the conspirators, who were
 the nobles in his army, would avail themselves
 of the circumstance, and either slay him in the
 field, or deliver him to the enemy. — Though
 the minds of many had been long alienated from
 their prince, it rather seems, that the present
 was a scheme, devised by the Welsh princes, to
 avert a blow which, they had reason to appre-
 hend, would fall heavy on their nation. The
 scheme answered. He read the last advice with
 horror, and in the consciousness of his own guilt
 could see, what grounds he had to fear. He
 reflected also, that he was an excommunicated
 man, and that his subjects had been released
 from their allegiance. He no longer hesitated:
 the army received orders to disband; and
 himself repairing to London, dispatched officers
 to such noblemen, as he most suspected, to
 require hostages from them. They complied, two
 only excepted, who immediately withdrew from
 the kingdom²⁰.

²⁰ Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver. Chron. Tho.
 Wikes.

The fears of the king were somewhat allayed, and his indignation began to subside, when it was reported to him, that a hermit in Yorkshire had publicly predicted, that, before the next Ascension-day, his crown should be taken from him, and be placed on another head. He ordered the hermit to be brought to him. "Shall I die then, at that time," said John to him, "or in what manner shall I be deposed"? — "Depend on it" replied the prophet, "that on that day, thou shalt not be king. If I be convicted of a lie, punish me." — The king commanded he should be carefully guarded, till the issue of his prediction might be known. But the multitude, for whose faith no tale is too marvellous, gave full credit to the hermit, and looked eagerly to the completion of his words.— The historian, with some exaggeration perhaps, goes on to describe the inauspicious view of things: noblemen, whose wives and daughters, John had shamelessly insulted; others, whom his exactions had brought to extreme penury; and others, whose relations and nearest friends he had driven from their homes, possessing himself of their wealth and property. In every baron he had an enemy. With exultation they had received the papal mandate, which broke asunder the awful tie of allegiance; and they sent an instrument,

BOOK signed, it was reported, with their names, to
 V. Philip the French king, inviting him to come to
 1212. England, where his standard would be joined,
 and a crown only waited his acceptance. So
 relates the historian ²¹.

Langton, with
 views against
 the king, goes
 to Rome,

Stephen Langton, at the same time, and the
 bishops who were with him, seeing no end to the
 resistance of their prince, and well-apprized of the
 state of parties, resolved to co-operate with the
 malecontents, and aid their wildest wishes. They
 went to Rome, and presented themselves before
 the pontiff. To him they detailed the enormous
 conduct of John, since the interdict had been laid
 on England; his oppression of the church and its
 ministers; and his obstinacy, which no measures
 could soften. "To your holiness," they said sup-
 plicating, "we have recourse: hear our prayer;
 "give help to the church of England." Innocent
 was moved. He assembled a consistory; took their
 advice; and finally pronounced his decree. It
 was; "that John be deposed, and another, more
 "worthy of the crown, be elected in his place,
 "whom the pope should nominate."—Agreeably
 to this resolution, he wrote to the king of France,
 signifying his desire, that, for the remission of

²¹ Mat. Par. Mat. West.

his sins, he would undertake the laborious charge; and when he had dispossessed the tyrant of his throne, he and his descendants should inherit it for ever. — This nomination of Philip, than whom no prince was ever less subservient to the views of Rome, plainly indicates, that the wishes of the disaffected barons were known to Innocent, and which Langton also might have urged. The politic pontiff was aware, that no prince, whom they should disregard, would be admitted to the throne, and that the circumstance might strengthen the refractory John on it.

He then wrote to the great men, the knights, and warriors of different nations, exhorting them to take the cross, as if against the enemies of their faith, to follow the standard of France, and avenge the church's injuries. Who should give their money, or personally aid the expedition, should enjoy, he promised, the protection of the holy see. Pandulphus, the agent, whom we have already seen, received orders to return to France, and with him Stephen Langton and the bishops. "But should it happen," inquired the envoy in a private interview, "that I find in the English king symptoms of repentance, and a will to satisfy our church, and those he has injured, how must I proceed?" Innocent put into his hand a written form of peace or submission:

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Philip. com-
manded by
the pope, pre-
pares to in-
vade England.

“ To which, ” said he, “ if he will subscribe, he
“ shall recover our favor. ” They departed ²².

The archbishop, with his associates, having reached France, convoked a solemn meeting, wherein they announced to the French king, to his prelates, and to the whole nation, the sentence of deposition they had procured against their sovereign. In the pope's name, and for the remission of their sins, they enjoined them, to invade the realm of England, and to throw the tyrant and the church's enemy from his throne. Pandulphus, it seems, was not present on the occasion. — Thus called on, Philip could not refuse a commission, which, to a prince less ambitious, must have held out allurements irresistible. To Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, which were now his, he might add Aquitaine, and with it the imperial crown of England. He summoned all his vassals to meet him at Rouen, in the easter-holidays, with their arms and horses, under pain of felony. His navy also, and what other ships he could collect, were ordered to rendez-vous in the mouth of the Seine, and to take on board provisions, and what else the momentous expedition might demand ²³.

²² Mat. Par. Mat. West.

²³ Mat. Par. Mat. West. Annal. Waverl.

The news of these preparations roused the English monarch; and he prepared to resist. It was the month of March. He issued writs to the bailiffs of the sea-ports, commanding them to register all ships, and to take care, they were equipped, and anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, by the middle of lent. The sheriffs of the counties received other writs, directing them to summon all the tenants of the crown with their retainers, and every man capable of bearing arms, whatever his conditions might be, to meet him, near Dover, in the easter-week, under the severest penalties. So general a call on the services of the subject, had not been witnessed, since the conquest; but, in cases of invasion, the feudal law had ordained the generous provision. Awed by the sudden summons, the nation, in a moment, was in arms, and they marched, from all quarters, to the place of rendez-vous; while the channel swelled with the spreading armament. In a short time, Kent had not provisions for the multitude; when it was settled to dismiss those, who came without arms, and to retain only such, who were equipped for immediate service. Now landed from Ireland the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred knights, and other soldiers. The army encamped on Barham-down, sixty-thousand fighting men, whose breasts, says the

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BOOK historian, had loyalty animated, no prince in
V. christendom had matched their prowess. The
1213. fleet of England, also, outnumbered that of the
 enemy; and John had resolved, that the ocean
 should first witness the superiority of his arms²⁴.

Pandulphus,
 the papal
 nuncio, lands.

Thus the solemn crisis seemed to approach. —
 The monarchs, in anxious ardor, weighed the
 great event: — The troops, on the opposite shores,
 with minds variously agitated, indulged their
 expectations: — And the ships were preparing to
 unfurl their canvases to the winds; — when lo!
 — two knights of the temple landed at Dover,
 and proceeding to the English camp, were admit-
 ted to the king. “We come,” said they, in
 a tone of much respect, “from Pandulphus the
 “ subdeacon, and the servant of our lord the
 “ pope. For your advantage, and for that of the
 “ realm of England, he petitions to see your
 “ majesty.” — John heard their address, and
 assented. “Let him immediately come to me;”
 he replied, and dismissed the messengers. — In
 a few days, Pandulphus arrived, and being
 introduced to the king, he spoke: “At this
 “ moment, Philip, the French monarch,
 “ escorted by ships innumerable, and at the
 “ head of his army, only delays his departure

²⁴ Ut supra.

from

“ from the Seine, that, with greater multitudes, **B O O K**
 “ which still crowd to his standard, he may **V.**
 “ invade your realm; eject you from it, as a **1213.**
 “ rebel to the Lord and to the Roman pontiff;
 “ and by his grant, take possession of your throne.
 “ The exiled bishops come with him, and the
 “ clergy and laity, whom you proscribed; under
 “ his auspices, to re-occupy their fees and
 “ possessions, and to transfer to him their fealty,
 “ which once was due to you. He declares,
 “ besides, that he has the names of the nobles
 “ of your land, pledged to him for their liege
 “ submission. He doubts not, therefore, of success.
 “ Now look to your own good: repent, and
 “ avert the wrath of heaven. As yet you may
 “ regain the throne, from which you have been
 “ cast down, for contumacy, by our lord the
 “ pope. Promise to stand to the award of the
 “ church, and you shall experience the clemency
 “ of the holy see. But for the fulfilling of this
 “ promise, sureties must be given²⁵. ”

The weak prince, as the nuncio spoke, grew pale,
 and trembled, and the confidence which, a few
 days before, the presence of his army had inspired,
 at once gave place to a general distrust. The sixty
 thousand men, he thought, were leagued, in

²⁵ Mat. Par. an. 1213.

B O O K secret treason , against him ; and the former
V. notices , he had received of designs against his life
1213. or liberty , fell , with heavier recollection , on his
 mind. The fatal day also approached, which the
 hermit had predicted. Thus abashed , he saw
 little room for hesitation , and consented to the
 measures of Pandulphus , however generally they
 had been proposed. In the presence of sixteen
 earls and barons , the chief men of his kingdom,
 and with his hand on the gospels , he then
 swore to obey the sentence of the church ; and
 on the life of the king the sixteen nobles swore ,
 should he recede from his oath , that , to their
 utmost , they would compel him to fulfil it ²⁶.
 — From this circumstance , which we shall see
 confirmed , it appears most evident , that even
 the ministers of the crown approved the measures
 of the nuncio , and acted in concert with him.
 From any control of the papal power , in what-
 ever form they should now admit it , it would
 be much easier , they might plausibly reason ,
 afterwards to relieve the nation , than from the
 strong arm of Philip , should he land with his
 mighty army. Land he would , if no secret
 stratagem impeded it ; and in the discontented
 state of things , the event of another conquest
 threatened.

²⁶ Mat. Par. Mat. West. ib.

On the thirteenth day of May, the Monday preceding the feast of the Ascension, the king and Pandulphus, the earls and barons of his court, and a vast concourse of people, assembled at Dover; and before them John solemnly swore to the following articles: — To obey the pope in all things, for which he had been excommunicated; to receive into favor the proscribed bishops, and others, particularly cardinal Langton, and the prior and monks of Canterbury; to make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity, for the damages they had suffered, on account of their compliance with the interdict; to pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling; to give letters of safe-conduct to the primate, and the other exiled prelates, that they may return to their churches; not to prosecute any person, layman or ecclesiastic, for any matter relating to the late disagreement; to confirm these things by letters patent, in the manner the injured parties shall require, with which should he not comply, they shall be empowered to adhere to the pope, and himself shall lose all the right of patronage, he now holds in the English church. When these conditions shall be executed, the king to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and the interdict to be taken from the realm. — Such were the leading articles, drawn

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John submits,
submitting
himself and
kingdom to
the pope.

BOOK up in the form of a charter, to which John set
V. his seal; when four great barons, William earl
1213. of Salisbury, Reginald earl of Boulogne, William
 earl of Warren, and William earl of Ferrars,
 swore, as their peers had before done, on the soul
 of the king, that he would inviolably adhere
 to the compact²⁷.

But as yet enough had not been done to satisfy
 the insulted honor of the pontiff; to secure the
 nation, under his patronage, from the danger
 of an invasion; or to answer the views of the
 disaffected nobles, who saw, with pleasure, the
 tyrant thus brought low. Tuesday passed, and
 we may presume, that it was a day of anxious
 deliberation; for, on the morrow, the same great
 council, with the king and Pandulphus, again
 met near Dover. — Had any part of the projected
 measures been adverse to the wishes of the proud
 peers of England, can we persuade ourselves,
 they would have tamely witnessed their com-
 pletion, or have followed the heels of a Roman
 nuncio, from their camp to Dover, co-operating
 with his schemes, as they are called, and giving
 a legal sanction to them? — Now did John resign
 his crown, with the kingdoms of England and
 Ireland, into the hands of the pontiff, whom

²⁷ Mat. Par. ib.

Pandolphus represented. The instrument of conveyance specifies; That having offended God and the holy church, no means of just satisfaction remained to the king, but to humble himself and his dominions: “Wherefore,” it goes on, “willing to do it, under the influence of the holy spirit, not compelled by the interdict or by any fear, but of my own free will, and *with the general advice of my barons*, I concede to God, and to the apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the Roman church, and to our lord Innocent, the pope, and to his lawful successors, the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the remission of my sins and those of my family, in future to receive them from, and to hold them under him and the Roman see. And to this submission of fealty and homage, I hereby bind my heirs and successors; in sign of which, it is my will, and I decree that, from the revenues of the said kingdoms, the sum of a thousand marks be annually paid to Rome, seventy for England, and thirty for Ireland, in lieu of every other service and obligation, and with the reserve, to myself and heirs, of the administration of justice, of the liberties of the realm, and of the peculiar rights of the crown. And should I, or any of my

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BOOK " successors, presume to infringe this charter, they
 V. " shall forfeit, unless on admonition they repent,
 1213. " all right to the throne. May this concession and
 " duty remain firm for ever. — Witness my own
 " hand, in the presence of Henry archbishop of
 " Dublin, John bishop of Norwich, Geoffry
 " Fitzpeter, William earl of Salisbury, and nine
 " other barons." Their names are recorded²⁸.

The charter, as it is termed, being duly framed, John presented it to the nuncio, to be delivered to the pontiff. Then, before the whole assembly, but not, it seems, with the usual rites of vassalage, or in the hands of Pandulphus, he pronounced the following form of homage:— " I John, by
 " the grace of God, king of England, and lord
 " of Ireland, henceforth will be faithful to God,
 " and the blessed Peter, and the Roman church,
 " and to my lord the pope lord Innocent, and
 " to his lawful successors. I will not devise by
 " deed, word, or counsel, that they be injured
 " in life or member, or be circumvented by
 " snares. I will impede their harm, and avert it,
 " as far as I may be able. The advice, they shall
 " intrust to me by themselves, their nuncios,
 " or their briefs, I will hold secret, nor ever
 " reveal it to their injury. The patrimony of

²⁸ Mat. Par.

“ St. Peter, and especially the realm of England, B O O K
 “ and that of Ireland, I will assist to hold and V.
 “ maintain against all men. Thus may God aid 1213.
 “ me, and these his holy gospels; Amen ”. ” —

In speaking he had held his hands, we may presume, on the sacred volumes. The prelates before mentioned, and the barons, were witnesses, as to this extraordinary deed. But Pandulphus, a man of singular moderation, and who, in a transaction of peculiar delicacy, had conducted himself with a temper, equally pleasing to all parties, and seldom before seen in a Roman envoy, is, on the occasion, charged with an act of intemperate exultation. Some money, which the king had offered, says the historian, as an earnest of his subjection, he trampled under his feet; at which the archbishop of Dublin expressed his displeasure, and remonstrated²⁹. The act, doubtless, was meant to signify, that the spiritual control of his master looked down on kingdoms and spurned their riches.

So ended this memorable day, the fifteenth of the month of May. — With regard to the transaction itself, which modern writers know not how to view with decent composure, I will observe,

²⁹ Mat. Par.

³⁰ Mat. Par. Chron. Tho. Wikes. et Walt. Heming.
 et Mailros. Annal. Waver. et Burt.

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that, had themselves been eye-witnesses to it, their indignation had been less violent. With difficulty, some minds divest themselves of their common habits of thought, and go back, in imagination, to ages which have passed away. An extraordinary power, which I have sedulously traced, was then ascribed to the Roman bishop, and of more kingdoms, than of Sicily, he was acknowledged to be the suzerain lord. Acts of feudal homage were common, and were not attended with disgrace. We saw the king of Scotland voluntarily surrender the independence of his crown; and princes and the great barons daily transferred their fealty, on the slightest provocation; and the English monarchs were in the constant habits, of performing the humiliating ceremony, as to us it appears, in the hands of the kings of France. But however this may be, the surrender, which John made of his crown, was the authentic act of the nation, expressed in as full a manner, as the most solemn deeds then were. The primate was not present, for an obvious reason, nor the archbishop of York, the son of Rosamond, who was then dead: but the archbishop of Dublin witnessed the charter, and the bishop of Norwich, deputy of Ireland, and Fizepeter, the justiciary of the realm of England, with other barons. The great council of the nation, as it is called, seems to

have been assembled in its wonted solemnity. Such meetings, by some writers, on less important occasions, have been dignified with the appellation of *parliament*. What probably were the motives which induced the justiciary, a man of great experience, as he is represented, and of consummate wisdom, to forward the extraordinary measure, I have said. Others might be variously influenced. The bishop of Norwich, in particular, was an enemy to Innocent, whose promotion to the see of Canterbury he had impeded. This only may be affirmed with confidence, that they preferred the measure, on the best view of things, as most tending to the good of the nation; and that to their eyes it carried little of the ignominy, which we have affixed to it. Pandulphus seems to have co-operated with the wishes of the prelates and barons at home, as he had with those of the exiled party; and what is remarkable, the historian, who can often be severe when Rome is concerned, neither reflects on the nuncio, or his proceedings; nor does he intimate, that any part of the transaction raised the smallest opposition, or gave offence, excepting in the single instance which I mentioned.

Having executed his commission, Pandulphus, taking with him the charters and the eight

The French king checked by Pandul-

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plus, enters
Flanders.

thousand pounds, which had been paid for the immediate relief of the exiles, failed to France. He waited on them, and showing them the terms of pacification, which pleased them well, exhorted them to return to England, with the dispositions of cordial amity, where they would receive an ample reparation of all their wrongs. Thence he repaired to Philip, who was on his march towards Boulogne, and recounting the success of his negociation in England, he addressed the astonished monarch, exhorting him to desist from his enterprize, and to return home.

“Without offence to the Roman bishop,” he continued, “you cannot pursue your designs on England and its king. He is ready to make satisfaction to God, to the holy church, and to her ministers; and to obey the commands of our lord the pope.”—Philip did not restrain his anger. “Already,” said he, “I have expended more than sixty thousand pounds on this expedition. I undertook it by the pontiff’s command, and for the remission of my sins.”—Pandulphus withdrew, reiterating the inhibition, in his master’s name. But the army continued their march; and Philip dispatched orders to his fleet, instantly to leave the Seine, and join him in the port of Boulogne³¹.

³¹ Mat. Par.

In the French army, which all the great vassals of the crown followed, was Ferdinand, recently advanced to the earldom of Flanders. He had refused, indeed, to join the enterprize, unless certain towns, which had lately been annexed to the French crown, were restored to him. The truth was, that he was actually confederated with John, through the insinuating persuasion of Reginald earl of Boulogne, his relation, who, not long before, in disgust, had relinquished the interest of France. At this crisis, therefore, he signified to Philip, that he should favor no longer the unjust attempt on England; and sullenly retired. The monarch, with the advice of his generals, at once resolved to enter Flanders, and to put it out of the earl's power, to obstruct the immediate prosecution of his design. But already Ferdinand had apprized the English council of the danger, which he apprehended; and a powerful army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, with many ships, had been ordered to sail to his assistance. The French fleet had arrived on the coast; when Philip marched into Flanders. The impetuous incursion was irresistible, and many towns fell. In the mean while, the English fleet anchored, and finding that of the enemy almost deserted by the troops, who were pillaging the country, they attacked them captured three hundred, and sank and burnt a

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hundred more. Philip, engaged in the siege of Ghent, flew to the rescue of his fleet. It was too late. Some advantage, indeed, he obtained over the enemy, who had landed; but seeing it impracticable to save the remaining ships, he ordered them to be fired, and withdrew with his army. So vanished the prospect he had indulged, of adding a second crown to his empire. But the English generals joined the earl of Flanders, with whom, it seems, a plan was in agitation, for the recovery of the lost provinces in France, and to break down the power of Philip³².

The exiles return, and Langton administers an oath to the king.

John heard the news of this success with rapture, and understanding that all danger of an immediate invasion was at an end, he disbanded his forces. He likewise sent money to his troops in Flanders, promising that, with the spring, a powerful ally would join their arms; and in the mean while, he urged them to infest and pillage the territory of his enemy. Another army he then ordered to attend him at Portsmouth, where it was his intention, he said, to embark, and from the ports of France, to carry devastation to its centre. The vassals assembled, as the summons directed; but their chiefs refused to proceed, unless the sentence

³² Mat. Par. Daniel, p. 558.

of excommunication were first taken from the king. With reluctance, the disconcerted monarch listened to the stubborn resolution, which discontent had dictated; and in compliance with it, sent messengers to the exiles, bearing with them letters from twenty-four barons, as a pledge of the security, in which they might return, agreeably to the settled form of pacification, and be indemnified for the injuries they had sustained.

The exiles received the joyful tidings, and came to England with speed; Stephen Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, and a crowd of inferior clergy, monks, and laity. The king, who was at Winchester, went out to meet them. He fell at the feet of the prelates, and imploring their forgiveness, was reconducted by them to the door of the principal church, where the multitude waited. The primate here pronounced his absolution, and immediately entering the church, presented to him a book of the gospels, and with it the heads of an oath, he had prepared. Without hesitation the king took it. "I swear," he said, "to love the church
" and her ministers, and to defend and maintain
" them, against their enemies, to the utmost of my
" power. The good laws of my predecessors, and
" especially those of king Edward, I will renew.

BOOK V. 1213. “ Bad laws I will annul. I will administer justice
 “ to all my vassals, according to the just judgments
 “ of my court, and give to every man his rights.
 “ Before easter next, I will make full satisfaction
 “ for all the damages I have caused, on account
 “ of the interdict, or again fall under the sen-
 “ tence from which I am now released.” He then
 renewed his oath of fealty and obedience to the
 pope and his successors, in the words of the late
 charter given to Pandulphus. Thus closed the
 ceremony, and the king, with the cardinal, the
 prelates, and the nobles, dined at the same table
 in great festivity. This was on the sixteenth of
 July³³.

The oath which the cardinal primate, with an
 assurance, that courtly politicians might condemn,
 thus dictated to his prince, seems to have origin-
 ated in a scheme, boldly projected and maturely
 weighed. It differed, indeed, little from the
 coronation-oath, which he and his immediate pre-
 decessors had taken; but the present occasion of
 its renewal was singular, and it brought it, with
 no common impression, to the recollection of
 the public. We shall soon see the important pur-
 pose, which it was meant to serve. Why Langton,
 at the same time, caused the oath of fealty to the

³³ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

pontiff to be repeated, is not so evident. But the circumstance proves, that, as he originally moved his holiness to adopt the extravagant measure, from motives which we do not sufficiently penetrate, so he would show that he still approved the same, and would call on the nobles of the land, a second time, in their collected capacity, to give it the sanction of their presence. That the reconciliation, between this politic churchman and the king, was sincere, we may not suppose. John viewed him as an intruder into the see of Canterbury, whose entrance he could no longer impede, and as the principal author, doubtless, of the late attack on the independence of his crown. If Langton despised the unsteady and inglorious prince, it was but natural. He forgave, perhaps, the opposition, he had experienced from him, which his good sense would be ready to justify; but he had taken his resolution, we know, to avail himself of the general discontent and the weakness of the monarch thereby to rescue his country from oppression, and to give it the benefit of better laws.

John now presumed, that he could call on his vassals to follow his standard, and be no longer waywardly opposed. But his first step was, to command the sheriffs of counties to chuse four commissioners, with an officer in each district, whose

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business it should be, to inquire into the losses the exiles had sustained, and to report the same before a council, appointed to meet at St. Alban's, on the fourth of August. This, he hoped, would be received as an earnest of his sincere design of fulfilling every part of his engagement. He then committed the care of the realm to the justiciary Fitzpeter, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to do nothing, without the advice of the cardinal; and again hastened to Portsmouth. Here his army had remained; but they now informed him that, in waiting his return, their money was spent, and that they could not proceed, unless they were supplied from his treasury. John rejected their demand, and angrily sailed with his family, trusting he should not be deserted by men, on whose allegiance, he vainly fancied, he might rely. But the nobles, with indifference, saw him embark, and themselves returned home. He landed on Jersey, and waited; but as no one came, again, in indignation, he ordered his vessel to depart, and regain the English port³⁴.

The fourth of August, mean while, had passed, when the great council assembled at St. Alban's. Fitzpeter and his colleague announced to them

³⁴ Mat. Par.

the terms of pacification, which had been settled with the king, and then, in his name, ordained; “that the laws of the first Henry be every where observed, and all unjust laws be utterly abolished.” They commanded the sheriffs, the rangers of the forests, and all other the king’s officers, as they valued their lives and members, to be guilty of no extortion, to offer no injury, and to cease from such oppressions, as hitherto they had practised with impunity³⁵.

Such were the wise ordinances of St. Alban’s, made in the absence of the prince, and under a commission, we may presume, with which he had invested his ministers. We now see the tendency of the oath, which Langton had extorted from him; and his deep-laid plan begins to open. But here the laws of Henry are only mentioned; and in the oath, a more general expression was used, with a particular reference to the laws of St. Edward. The reason of this will soon appear. I wish also to notice the good understanding that subsisted between the primate and the ministers of the crown, of which an undeniable instance here occurs, which shows, that they proceeded in concord to the accomplishment of one design.

³⁵ Mat. Par.

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The irritated monarch, who wanted capacity to fathom the views of the cardinal and his associates, only meditated vengeance. He collected another army, resolving to chastise the refractory nobles, by whom he was lately deserted; and he advanced to Northampton. Hither came the primate: "This proceeding, Sir," said he, "tends to the violation of the oath, you took before me. Your vassals must stand to the judgment of your court, and not be thus wantonly harassed by arms. It was that you swore to." — "The concerns of my realm," vociferated John, "shall not be impeded by you, my lord; nor do they appertain to you;" and the next morning, early, he marched towards Nottingham. But Langton, unintimidated, followed him: "Either desist," he proceeded, "from this attempt, or I will excommunicate all those, your majesty only excepted, who shall presume to bear arms, till the interdict, which still holds, shall be withdrawn." The menace succeeded: but the cardinal did not quit the king, till he had prevailed on him to name a day, on which the barons, who had offended him, should appear in his court, and answer to his charges³⁶.

Modern men can applaud this behaviour of

³⁶ Mat. Par.

Langton, insolent as it was, because, they say, it was the cause of civil liberty which he patronized, and in that cause, the common rules of decency bind, it seems, no longer. On Becket they can be severe and unrelenting; though to his prince he never uttered language so unseemly, and the cause he maintained was to him and to thousands, equally momentous, and far more sacred. But the policy of the cardinal was here transcendent. From his sovereign he drew an oath, to the observance of which, by a bold importunity, he compels him to adhere, while the clause, which he principally urges, embraces that privilege, which the nobles, he knew, held most dear. Thus did he make their cause his own, attaching them to himself by such a tie of interest, as, on a future day, he could not doubt, would give confidence, and rouse the most timid to a manly co-operation with his best designs.

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Within three weeks, from the last great meeting, again assembled the prelates, abbots, priors, deans, and barons of the realm, at London, in the church of St. Paul. Nor was the king here present. What was the ostensible motive of the convention, is not related; but, probably, it regarded the cause of the exiles. In it the primate relaxed some part of the interdict, which was to

The primate
confederates
the barons.

BOOK continue, we know, till the whole treaty should
V. be fulfilled. But so fortunate an occasion was not
1213. thus lightly to pass away. In the unsuspectful hour
of general debate, Langton called aside, as it
was reported, certain barons, whom, with an air
of solemn secrecy, he thus addressed: “ You
“ heard that I absolved our king at Winchester,
“ where I forced him to swear, that he would
“ abolish unjust laws, and re-establish good ones,
“ namely, those of king Edward, and that these
“ should be observed by all his subjects. I have
“ lately found a charter of Henry I. by which,
“ if you be so disposed, the liberties we have
“ long lost may be restored to our country.” So
saying, he produced the charter, and caused it
to be read to them³⁷.

It was that which Henry I. had granted, in the
first year of his reign; which Stephen had re-
newed; and which Henry II. had confirmed. It
contained some laws of the Confessor, with such
amendations as the conqueror, with the consent
of the barons, had introduced: and, as many
transcripts of it having been taken, as there were
counties, they had been deposited as records, in
the abbeyes of each county³⁸. But little attention

³⁷ Mat. Par.

³⁸ Mat. Par. an. 1100.

was paid to this important instrument. The government of the kings continued irregular, if not unlimited; and in an age, when few could read, when arms engaged their thoughts, and not the discussion of laws and polity, the charter was neglected; and gradually its memory sank. The number of copies secured it, indeed, from destruction, but not from oblivion. Yet, at all times, a traditional recollection, indistinct in many, of days long passed, when, under another race of kings, their ancestors were reputed more free and happy, attached itself to the mind; and the name of Edward and his laws was repeated with a warmth, approaching to enthusiasm. This, in the Saxon families, was most natural; but the Normans also imbibed the impression, and as the conduct of their kings aggrieved them, their partial fondness ceased, and they looked anxiously to the restoration of the rights of Englishmen, and the re-establishment of better laws.

The barons listened, while the charter was interpreted, and their looks and gestures expressed the warmest joy. "For those rights," they exclaimed, "when the proper season shall come, if necessary, we will die." — Swear "it," said the primate. They swore. Himself then promised them his utmost assistance. Thus

BOOK was the confederacy formed, and the assembly
V. separated¹⁹. — We may now understand that,
1213. by the laws of the Confessor and the charter of Henry, was meant, in a vague acceptation, the same code of rights and liberties.

Fitzpeter earl of Essex, the justiciary, seems not to have been present on this memorable occasion. It was sickness, probably, which confined him at home; for early in the next month he died. His loss, says the historian, was to England irreparable. He was the pillar of the state, versed in its laws, generous in his dispositions, affluent in the gifts of fortune, and allied in blood or friendship to all the noble families of the realm. His sovereign feared him; but he permitted him still to hold the reins of government. When the news came of his death; “It is well,” said John, laughing violently, “in hell he may again shake hands with Hubert, our late primate, whom he will surely find there.” Then turning to those who were with him, he subjoined: “By God’s feet, now, for the first time, I am king and lord of England.” And, in truth, released from a minister, who could control his wayward character, he regarded less the engagements he had been induced to make, and thought

¹⁹ Mat. Par.

by what means he could best annul the whole obligation of the late treaty ⁴⁰. — With this view, and on this occasion, it was reported, that he sent an embassy to Miramoulin, emperor of Morocco, offering to resign his kingdom to him, and to hold it under tribute; to renounce the law of Christ, and to become Mahometan, in order to purchase his protection. — Modern historians reject the story as incredible, and as fabricated by the monks, to vilify the memory of their sovereign. But to them he was not peculiarly obnoxious; and so circumstantially is the tale told by the historian ⁴¹, who heard it, he says, from the mouth of Robert of London, one of the envoys, that to critics less fastidious it may bear many marks of authentic truth. The folly of John was adequate to the wildest undertakings. — Miramoulin despised the weak monarch, and rejected the proffered submission.

The league of the barons, or, at least, their general views, which the conversation of each day circulated, could be no longer hidden from the king. But how could he dissipate their designs? By experience, says the monkish historian, he had learned, that the pontiff was of all men the

A legate arrives, before whom John renews his submission.

⁴⁰ Mat. Par.

⁴¹ Ibid.

BOOK most proud and ambitious, insatiable of money,
V. and prone to every crime, when allured by
1213. rewards or promises. — Innocent was ambitious;
 but the other charges applied not to him. — The
 king dispatched messengers to Rome, loaded with
 presents, and by them he promised still larger
 gifts; and he vowed an eternal fealty, would
 he engage, as the occasion offered, to confound
 the machinations of the primate, and to excom-
 municate the barons whose confederacy he feared.
 But already a legate had been appointed, and was
 on his road to England. — This new proposal of
 the king contained matter of great delicacy.
 Innocent weighed it maturely, and dismissed the
 messengers, with various letters of instruction
 to the king and his legate. This was Nicholas,
 bishop of Tusculum, who arrived in England
 about the end of September⁴².

A council met in London before the king and
 the legate, where was first discussed the question,
 of the reparation to be made to the exiles. The
 terms which the king offered seemed highly
 equitable, and Nicholas approved them; but the
 cardinals, with the other sufferers, would not
 consent, insisting, that the whole of their losses
 should be first ascertained, and the debt be at once

⁴² Mat. Par. ep. Inn. 130, 131.

discharged. The legate, they discovered, was wholly devoted to the king. — On the following day they debated the question of the interdict; but neither here was any thing decided: when John, whose cause was now in the hands of the legate, at his requisition, came forward, and before the altar, in the church of St. Paul where the council was held, repeated the act of submission, whereby he had, on a former day, subjected his crown, and the realms of England and Ireland, to the Roman see. Even the charter of resignation, which, sealed with wax, had been given to Pandulphus, now received a golden seal, and was delivered to the legate, to be presented to his holiness. The council adjourned. Other meetings, in the succeeding months, assembled; but nothing was concluded, and the interdict remained, and justice was not done to the sufferers⁴³.

The conduct of the legate soon roused the further resentment of Langton and the English bishops. He had been empowered by the pope, to fill the vacant churches and abbeyes, with the king's consent: but he complied ill with his instructions, nominating men, whom neither science nor virtue qualified for the office. In vain were

⁴³ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

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complaints made; and Langton called a synod at Dunstable. They agreed to appeal to the pope; on which the cardinal sent a messenger to Nicholas, apprizing him of the appeal, and forbidding him to proceed to any other appointment, which was the known privilege, he said, of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The legate disregarded the inhibition; but consulting with the king, he dispatched Pandulphus, who was lately come to England, with proper instructions to the pontiff. Arrived in Rome, Pandulphus represented, in dark colors, the behaviour of the primate, and his views, urging, that he and his colleagues loved money; and that, in the reparation which they demanded of their losses, they were too rigid and exacting: "Besides," he added, "it is their aim to reduce their sovereign to undue submissions, and to abridge the liberties of the realm." He then spoke of the king, on whom he lavished praises, and than whom, he said, he had not seen a more humble and more modest prince. Here he presented the charter, with its golden seal. Simon Langton, the primate's brother, who assisted at the interview, attempted to reply, but his voice gained no attention. The eloquence of the golden seal was irresistible⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Mat. Par.

But whilst occurrences such as these, the preludes to a greater event, have engaged our thoughts; in the southern provinces of France, a scene was exhibited, from which reason and religion turn with horror. Already I have said, who were the Albigenſes, and what their principal tenets. In vain had theſe been condemned, and their abettors puniſhed, when legates came from Rome, by their preſence, to check the ſpreading evil. It only ſpread the more; for the pageantry of dreſs and equipage, which attended theſe courtly miſſionaries, ſerved to give an edge to the declamations of the ſectaries, whoſe favorite topic of inveſtive was, the wealth and worldly demeanour of churchmen. Soon then it appeared, that all orders of men had taſted of the poiſoned cup: towns, villages, and hamlets, in the provinces eſpecially of Gaſcogne and Languedoc, ſwarmed with them; and what was extraordinary, when we conſider the tenets of thoſe men, tending to pull down grandeur and level diſtinction, even the nobles quitted the ſplendid worſhip of their anceſtors, and joined their vaſſals in the ruſtic faith. Then it was, in the year 1208, that Innocent commanded a cruſade to be preached againſt them, and ſent his legates, for that purpoſe, into France. Philip received them, and applauded the meaſure; but he could not, engaged as he

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againſt the
Albigenſes.

B O O K then was, do more than promise a powerful body
V. of men, and permit his subjects to enrol them-
1214. selves, as their zeal might direct. The promulgation
of the crusade was attended with great success;
for the expedition seemed to threaten few
difficulties, and all the pardons, rewards, and
privileges, which other crusaders had enjoyed,
were held out to them. By way of distinction,
these wore the cross on the breast. The duke
of Burgundy, the earl of Nevers, the earl of
Montfort, and other great barons, with many
prelates and abbots, were soon in arms.

Raymond VI. earl of Toulouse, had declared
himself the protector of the Albigenses, and had
warmly imbibed their doctrines. This drew on
him the hatred of the orthodox, and the vengeance
of Rome. He was excommunicated. Could we
credit the representations of his enemies, (and
such were his historians,) Raymond was the most
brutal and infamous of mortals. By what art
could he now avert the impending storm? He
appeared before the legate, and casting himself
on his mercy, consented to abide by his decision.
It was instantly decided, that he should surren-
der seven castles into the hands of the legate,
and give sureties for his future submission. This
being done, he received absolution, standing
in his shirt, and was led by the neck into the

church, while the legate, as he slowly passed through the crowd, beat him with rods.

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The army of the crusaders entered Languedoc. Toulouse, indeed, and other places immediately dependent on the count, were, by his submission, secured from their attack; but his vassals, the lords of other districts, equally infected with error, and less pliant than himself, might expect no mercy. Beziers was taken by storm, and in it thirty thousand souls were massacred. Carcassone, a neighbouring town, capitulated, and its fate was less bloody. Here, while the soldiers were busied in moving the engines, and scaling the walls, the ministers of religion had assembled, and had dared to invoke the father of mankind, in addresses to his holy spirit! Such was their enthusiasm; a passion, which can sanctify excess, and veil with piety the wildest crimes.

As yet the crusaders were without a general, acting under the guidance of their respective leaders, or all directed by the legate's voice. It was thought necessary to chuse one; and the election fell on the earl of Nevers, who declined the honor; and then on the duke of Burgundy, who likewise refused it. A committee, therefore, was appointed, who nominated the earl of Montfort; and he reluctantly consented to accept

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the important charge. — Simon de Montfort, from the honors he had possessed in England, sometimes called earl of Leicester, was nobly descended; and the historians of the day lavished all their powers, in praising the endowments of his mind, and the accomplishments of his person. His piety, they say, and his love of virtue equalled these. What was his real character will best appear from his conduct. — Invested with supreme command, he took possession of many castles, which had surrendered, and sent missionaries to convert their inhabitants. But already the term being expired, for which the crusaders had enlisted, many of them retired, at the head of whom was the count de Nevers. Nor did the duke of Burgundy long remain. De Montfort saw himself deserted by the army, while the winter-season came on. He had resources, however, within himself, which could counteract these untoward events. The splendor of his name kept the enemy in awe, and his address and engaging manners drew strangers to his standard. With these he took the field, whilst the inclement blast still howled; and conquered many places. The count de Foix, a powerful baron, and a protector of the heretics, then submitted to his arms.

With pain had Raymond witnessed these successes,

which he could not impede, and he knew not where their progress might terminate, unless in the utter ruin of his vassals. Thus was he anxious, when a messenger came from the general to propose that he would surrender to him the domain of all the places and territory, which he had already subdued. It was the advice, he added, of the legate; and should he refuse it, he must expect a declaration of war against himself. The secret views of Montfort were at once disclosed. — The earl resisted the unjust demand, urging his rights and the treaty he had concluded with the legate, when his excommunication was reversed; and he would himself, he said, instantly claim justice at the foot of St. Peter's chair. — With this view he went to Rome.

The ambitious designs of Montfort also roused a more potent enemy. This was the king of Arragon, whose sister the earl of Toulouse had lately married, and who, besides, was count of Provence, and lord of many towns in Languedoc. His faith was orthodox; but that did not incline him to surrender his just rights, into the hands of a man, whose only claim was a successful invasion. In vain did Montfort strive to allure the king, who not only refused to comply, but, underhand, signified to the barons and men of power in the neighbourhood of Beziers and Albi,

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that, would they resume their arms, he would assist them with all his forces. Men, whom the want of an animating ally had only driven to submission, took fire at the proffered aid, and seized their arms. In a moment, the general saw a host spring up before him, whose activity was such, that, before he could make resistance, only three towns and five castles remained in his possession.

In the spring, the countess brought him a reinforcement of troops, with which he recovered some castles; and other crusaders joined him from different countries. To draw any advantage from such auxiliaries, no common address was necessary. They were raw and undisciplined, whose period of service did not exceed forty days; but they glowed with zeal, looking to the crown of martyrdom, if they fell, or else to the remission of all their sins. Montfort led them into action, and no danger could appal them, or fortrefs withstand their furious onset.

The earl of Toulouse was returned from Rome, where he had experienced some lenity from the pontiff; and he had waited on the emperor Otho, and had seen his sovereign, the French king. With these no artifice succeeded; for they beheld in him, what in their zeal they hated most, the secret advocate of heresy. It was well

known,

known, what had been the motive of his submission, and himself seemed little disposed any longer to wear the mask. During the siege of Lavaur, he gave assistance to the enemy. The king of Arragon began to waver in his attachment; and again the legates pronounced Raymond excommunicated. — I describe not the streams of blood, nor the flaming piles, which every where marked the progress of the orthodox army; while it is not my intention to insinuate, that excesses were not committed, which provoked resentment, and justified some retaliation. But who first drew the sword? Or was it so great a crime, to have dissented from the faith of Rome?

Twelve strong places now fell before de Montfort; and he marched against Toulouse. It was the third year of the war. Toulouse was then a vast city, nor were the besiegers sufficiently numerous to encompass its walls. The general saw his error, and having retreated towards Cahors, which surrendered to him, he had the mortification, in a few weeks, to see himself almost wholly deserted. So uncertain was the state of this varying warfare. An army of feudal vassals, I have elsewhere observed, ebbed and flowed, as does the ocean; but an army of crusaders, within reach of their homes, as this

BOOK was, still more resembled that changeful element.
 V. Many towns were then retaken, and a general
 1214. less expert than de Montfort, must have beheld
 every fortress torn violently from his arms. He,
 with the intrepidity of a hero, coolly maintained
 the ground he had taken, and in all his losses
 still kept the advantage of conquest, waiting till
 an army might return, which he should lead to
 other victories. He was in Castelnaudari, a
 town of some strength, when news was brought,
 that the earl of Toulouse and other barons, at the
 head of a great force, were marching to invest the
 place. The general, with his little army, retired to
 the castle. I shall not describe the series of this siege,
 which raised to higher fame the warlike name of de
 Montfort; for he foiled, by repeated sallies, every
 effort of the enemy, and defeating him in the field,
 compelled the count to raise the siege with igno-
 miny. Nor was this all. Soon fresh succours arrived,
 when he extended his conquests, and by the
 beginning of the next year, 1212, we find little
 more than Toulouse and Montauban, in the
 hands of the enemy.

While the horrors of war thus raged, an under-
 part, often more atrocious was acted by those,
 whom the canons of the church forbid to stain their
 hands with blood. Some, indeed, there were whom
 a benevolent zeal moved, and these by means

which reason must applaud, strove to convince the understanding, and to draw the heart from error. Their endeavours were not without success. The more ardent missionaries accompanied the army, projecting, with the generals, plans of battles and sieges: marking for destruction those, whose erroneous conduct had been most conspicuous; animating the soldiers, by prospects of an eternal crown, to deeds of carnage; and preaching the tenets of him, who was meek of heart, to the prisoners, the wounded, and the dying, while the butcher held his dagger to the throat, and the piles blazed round them. If few were reclaimed from error, who can wonder? We see them, as the historians relate, insulting the ministers, rejecting their advice, braving the executioners, and either, with the cool fortitude of conviction, stepping forward to death, or with an impetuous enthusiasm, as ancient martyrs had done, rushing to its arms. And, surely, these men had better pretensions to the appellation of martyrs, than they who wantonly courted danger; and when they fell, had on their heads the crimes, which unprovoked hostility, licentious devastation, and premeditated murder could perpetrate. These no papal decrees could authorize. Men, from obstinacy of character or from views of interest may sacrifice much in the cause of error;

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BOOK but they will not steadily die in its defence,
 V. unless that error has impressed on their minds all
 1214. the conviction of truth. Then are they martyrs.

De Montfort, now in possession of an extensive territory with its towns and castles, viewed himself as its lord, and convened an assembly at Pamiers. The ordinances here made, for the partition of lands amongst his barons, and for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, of a better police, and of the services of religion, were wise, and breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance.— The cause of count Raymond seemed irretrievably lost; and again he had recourse to the king of Arragon, imploring his mediation. This prince was returned triumphant, from a great victory gained over the Saracens in Spain. He consented to be his brother's friend. A long negociation commenced, first with the legates and with the prelates assembled at Lavaur, and then with the pontiff. But the interest of de Montfort prevailed, which was deemed the interest of religion. The pope wrote to the king of Arragon, warmly entreating him to renounce the cause of the heretic, and menacing censures, if he persisted. The menace he contemned, and at once declared war against the darling of the church. Simon expostulated on an attack, which, he said, was unprovoked, and sent a defiance to the king.

Hitherto the French monarch had himself taken no active part in a war, which his vassals principally had waged; but now unexpectedly he saw himself involved. Two prelates had come to Paris, from the catholic army. They were introduced to Louis, the young prince, then in his twenty-fifth year, and working on his ardent character, they prevailed on him to vow, that he would take the cross, and lead an army against the Albigenes. Philip, from whom the measure was concealed, heard it with much anger, but he could not withhold his consent. He consented; and that a becoming magnificence might attend the expedition, he summoned a meeting of his nobles, when the number of men, the order of the march, and the time of departure, were regulated. But the report of a league between the emperor and the king of England, which threatened France with an invasion, at the moment transpired, and frustrated the expedition.

De Montfort, whom the prospect of the splendid succour had elated, was left exposed to the swelling power of the enemy. Nor was this his greatest trouble. The agents of the king of Arragon at the court of Rome, so well employed their eloquence, that Innocent was prevailed on to espouse their cause. They represented, that the ambition only of de Montfort upheld the war in

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Languedoc; that the heretics were broken down; that the few barons still in arms, were contending for their possessions, which had been violently wrested from them; that were these restored, peace would return, and the missionaries, unmolested, might diffuse the blessings of truth; that whilst the unsatiable interest of one man, under the mask of zeal for religion, drew armies to his standard, the cause of the church was sacrificed in Spain; that there was still a greater cause, which remained neglected in the east, and which he, emulating his predecessors, had nobly vowed to maintain: but did it become his wisdom, they concluded, than whom no wiser had graced the tiara, thus to abandon the glorious enterprise, in support of a man, who abused his favor, to rise to greatness on the ruins of provinces and the blood of their inhabitants?

The forcible address, in which there was much truth, succeeded. Innocent sent orders to de Montfort to surrender to the barons, who claimed them, the places he had taken, and to desist from further enterprises. At the same time he recalled the indulgence, and commanded a crusade to be preached against the Saracens of Palestine. In amazement, the general convened the legates, and the chiefs of the army; when it was resolved

instantly to dispatch a deputation to Rome. By their means, says the historian, Innocent was disabused of his error, and renewing his first order, strengthened the commission of his legates, and empowered them to pursue the war, with renovated vigor. But the imprudent measure had disconcerted the plans of de Montfort. Few soldiers came; many retired; and the king of Arragon, with a great army, was ready to enter Languedoc.

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On the tenth of September, he entered, at the head of a hundred thousand men, and sat down before Muret, a small town on the Garonne, three leagues below Toulouse. In its neighbourhood, says a historian, lived a lady whom the king loved, and her he wished to free from the inquietude which the garrison of Muret often occasioned. This gave motion to a hundred thousand men! With him were the earls of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminges. — De Montfort was at Fanjaux, eight leagues distant, when the news came to him. He was aware that Muret could make no resistance, and he hastened to its aid. But his whole force, when collected, hardly amounted to one thousand men. With these he advanced, and entered the town, on the opposite side of the river. Terms of peace were then offered to the king, which he rejected, and the general

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was made sensible, that the day was come, which should crown all his victories, or number him with the departed champions of the cross. Full of the glorious thought, he told his soldiers, that he meant not to endure the slow horrors of a siege, or to waste his time in sallies; he would meet the enemy in the field, and offer him battle. The bishops assembled, and one of them, in the hearing of the troops, pronounced an anathema against the earl and his accomplices. He then advanced in his robes, holding a portion of the true cross in his hands. The soldiers, armed as they were, alighted from their horses, and coming up, each, in his turn, bowed before the sacred sign. But the ceremony would be tedious; wherefore the bishop of Comminges, impatiently took it into his hand, and stepping forward, with it blessed the multitude: "Go," said he, "in the name of him who died on this cross: I pledge myself for you at the day of judgment, that he who shall fall, this day, in battle, shall rise to the crown of martyrdom." More than once he repeated the solemn words. They mounted their horses. — De Montfort also, with his eyes raised to heaven, said: "God of armies," he said, "thou didst chuse me for thy general. In this day of trial, hear my supplication; and let the world know, how just

“ is the cause, which thou hast committed to
“ me.” He rose from the ground ; and the
trumpet sounded.

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The army, not more than nine hundred men, all cavalry, left the town, and as they entered the plain, formed into three bodies. The enemy, prepared to receive them, did no deign to move. The circumstance was perhaps favorable. De Montfort saw the royal ensign, and rushing forward, broke the first line. The king was in the second. Him he assailed ; the battle thickened ; and in a few moments, the monarch fell. Dismay at once spread through the ranks ; no order prevailed ; and thousands were butchered without resistance. The victory of de Montfort, in a few hours, was complete ; for the historians relate, that nearly twenty thousand men were slain of the enemy, while the crusaders did not lose more than one knight and a few soldiers ! — The general, ceasing from the carnage, halted, and offered up his vows to heaven. Such was the battle of Muret.

It might have been expected, that the war was at an end. But destitute of troops, as de Montfort was, he could draw little advantage from his victory. Only he ravaged the country, unmolested and kept the enemy in alarm. Soon afterwards, a new legate came from Rome, to

BOOK negotiate a peace, and a numerous re-enforce-
V. ment, whom the fame of the late victory roused,
1214. joined de Montfort. With these he extended his conquests; and soon the most refractory, awed by the impression of his name, listened to terms of accommodation. The principal barons submitted, and the bold zeal of the heretics was, for a time, suppressed⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Hist. Albigen. et scrip. contemp. passim.

END OF BOOK V.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
KING JOHN.

BOOK VI.

John lands at la Rochelle. — The emperor Otho is dethroned. — Battle of Bouvines. — The interdict is taken from England. — The barons meet at St. Edmundsbury. — Their further proceedings. — Runnemedes. — Magna Charta. — John meditates vengeance, and retires. — Conduct of Innocent. — Preparations for a civil war. — The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome. — Fourth council of Lateran. — England desolated by the king's forces. — The barons excommunicated by name. — Prince Louis is invited over. — A Roman legate obstructs his

design. — The prince lands. — His cause is agitated at Rome. — He pursues his conquests, and lays siege to the castles of Dover and Windsor. — John takes the field. — Perplexity of the barons. — The king falls sick and dies. — General view. — Conclusion.

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VI.

FROM the horrors of the war, I have described, so adverse to the mild spirit of truth and the best interests of human reason, I return with pleasure, to the troubled politics of England. Reason here applauds the strife, which the oppression of an unworthy prince provoked; while religion does not condemn it; and the eye of the spectator carried forward on the scene, beholds, with a secret rapture, the dawn of freedom slowly emerging from the gloom.

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John lands at
la Rochelle.

Early in the present year, John, to whom no view of things at home could give pleasure, and whom the season pressed to execute his part of a league which had been lately formed, again prepared to embark for France. The barons, he now, at least, hoped, would be subservient to his wishes. They obeyed his summons. And still more to gain the good will of the people, and of the church, he dispatched messengers to Rome, who might obtain, on terms they should propose, the final relaxation of the interdict.

On the second of February, with his queen, he went to Portsmouth, and thence sailing, landed with a powerful army at la Rochelle¹. — The league, I have mentioned, was with his nephew the emperor Otho, and with the earl of Flanders; the leading clause of which was, that, while John, on the side of Aquitaine, insulted the French provinces, the emperor, at the head of the allied army, should enter France, by the north-eastern frontier. — A momentary digression is necessary.

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Otho, whose ascent to the imperial throne I described, by a series of imprudences had seemed to have projected his own downfall. By retracting the promise he had made to Innocent, to surrender to the holy see certain possessions, which he claimed, and by urging rights which, perhaps, were due to his crown, he provoked the indignation of the haughty pontiff. Not satisfied, he cited young Frederic king of Sicily, the ward of Innocent, to do him homage for his territories, the avowed fief of the Roman court; and when the prince, as became him, refused compliance, Otho ordered his generals to enter Apulia. In vain did Innocent remonstrate; and as it was not in his character long to endure control, he

The emperor
Otho is de-
throned.

¹ Mat. Par. an. 1214. Annal Wayer.

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excommunicated the emperor. Maturely had the pontiff weighed this last exertion of power, from the accomplishment of which he resolved not to recede. The Romans hated Otho: the interests of Sicily must be combined with his own: he could expect much from many German princes, naturally allied to the house of Suabia: the Ghibeline faction in Italy was powerful: finally, the French monarch, who had opposed his elevation, and had leagued with his rival the late emperor, must warmly espouse any measure, which should tend to the humiliation of a man, the nephew of him he hated. So reasoned Innocent.—But Otho, notwithstanding, had himself marched into Italy; and Calabria being over-run, and the neighbouring provinces, little remained to oppose his arms. In the island of Sicily, a conspiracy formed in his favor, invited him to the throne; and fortune, he thought, was ready to crown his brightest wishes, when a mine suddenly sprang, against the effects of which no measures had been taken.

The relentless Innocent, aided, we are told, by the politics of the French king, had projected the great design. He had a legate also in Germany, the archbishop of Mentz, well-disposed to co-operate with his views. To him he proposed, and through him to other bishops, to publish the

sentence of excommunication, he had himself issued against Otho. The sentence was published; and agreeably to its spirit, a league with many German princes was, at the same time, formed, who swore, instantly to proceed to the deposition of the emperor, and to raise young Frederic to his throne. Otho heard the news, and leaving his conquests behind him, returned towards Germany. But as he passed through Italy, and the free states of Lombardy, he had the mortification to find that his wily enemy the pontiff, had debauched the allegiance of many, and that they were leagued against him. He proceeded, and in a diet at Nuremberg threw himself on the loyalty of his vassals. The generous measure gave audacity to the faction. They seized their arms, and proclaimed Frederic. Otho, thus braved, carried fire and sword into the territories of his enemies; the principal of whom were the king of Bohemia, and the duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, Frederic, urged by repeated calls, through many difficulties, made his way to Constance. He was received by his friends, and crowned at Mentz, with an applause, that spoke the increasing power of his faction; for the exertions of Innocent had been unceasing, and the king of France loudly proclaimed himself his ally. Otho, whose falling interest every hour witnessed,

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BOOK retired to his patrimonial estates of Brunswick.
VI. Now it was, that he entered into the league I
1214. mentioned. His empire in Germany was at an
 end, he saw; but he might be able to revenge
 himself, in his fall, on Philip, the instrument
 of his ruin².

Landed with his army at la Rochelle, the
 English king cast his eye to the northern provinces,
 which lately had been severed from his crown.
 Many barons of Poitou, impelled by threats, or
 allured by promises, came in, and renewed
 their allegiance; amongst whom was the earl de
 la Marche, to whom Isabella, the English queen,
 it will be remembered, had been once affianced.
 He then traversed the province, and entering
 Anjou, took its capital by storm, and conquered
 other places. The brilliant scene soon clouded.
 Philip commanded his son to make head against
 the king of England, who, by this time, had
 entered the Lower Bretagne, and was besieging
 an important castle. The English army outnumbered
 the enemy; but when John prepared for
 battle on their approach, the Poitevin barons
 acquainted him, that they were not disposed to fight.
 He quitted the field, and leaving his conquests
 to the mercy of the young prince, precipitately

² Murat. citans auctores coæt. Chron. Ursperg.

withdrew

withdrew to Parthenai, a castle at the extremity of Poitou³. Here closed his exploits and the campaign of Aquitaine, when he was at liberty to contemplate the operations of the allied army, on the side of Flanders.

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Otho, with what troops he could collect, in the spring had quitted Brunswick, and he was permitted, unheeded by his rival, to advance into Flanders. The impolitic measure is not accounted for by the historians. In Flanders he was joined by other German troops; and here he found the dukes of Brabant and Limburgh, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, and William earl of Salisbury, with other great men and generals, at the head of their respective forces. An English army had been there since the preceding year, when they failed to assist Ferdinand against the French monarch; and John, before he left England, had transmitted to them great sums of money. The chiefs reviewed their forces, when they were found to amount to a hundred and fifty thousand men. The heart of Otho once more beat high. — Philip, on the other hand, did not shrink from the mighty contest. He visited the frontier of his country, and left his son, with a sufficient force, to watch the motions of the English king.

The battle of
Bouvines.

³ Mat. Par.

BOOK Now it appeared, that the plan of operations had
VI. been well concerted; for being thus obliged to
1214. divide his forces, the great strength of the nation was no longer at his command. Under the walls of Peronne, his faithful barons had marshalled their vassals; and hither Philip came, about the twentieth of July. The army did not exceed fifty thousand men. They marched; and on the twenty-seventh, which was a Sunday, near the bridge de Bouvines, between Tournay and Lille, both armies came in fight. In the centre of the French line was the king, and in the opposite battle stood Otho: on the left was the count de Dreux, facing the earl of Boulogne and Salisbury with the English forces, and on the right, was the duke of Burgundy, facing the earl of Flanders.

I shall not detail the various chances, nor the achievements, of this memorable day, than which none so brilliant had yet graced the annals of France, Philip, whose prowess was unrivalled, and whose conduct, as a general, fame loudly echoed, narrowly escaped with his life; as did Otho. Their armour, tempered by the ablest workmen, shivered or blunted the recoiling weapons, and bent to no concussion. Dragged from his horse by a German foldier, who had fastened his barbed javelin on the top of his cuirass, the king, with

all his armour on, sprang from the ground, and extricating himself, mounted the horse of Peter Tristan, a valiant knight, who nobly preferred the prince's safety to his own. Otho, in similar danger, resisting a hundred swords, and seized round the body William de Barres, the bold knight, who had foiled our Richard, when tilting with him on the plains of Sicily, was rescued by the impetuous fury of his horse, wounded mortally in the eye. — But the French knights were every where irresistible; and the glory of the day was theirs. Formed into a squadron, they guarded their king and the royal banner, which, for the first time, is mentioned to have borne its *fleurs de lis*; and, as the tide of battle swelled, they mixed in the thickest conflict. — On the right wing of the enemy, the earl of Flanders, thrown from his horse and bleeding, when his troops were broken, surrendered his arms to the lords de Mareuil. Here the Burgundians fought, and their duke owed his life to the attachment of his soldiers. — The earl of Boulogne, late in the day, and when all was lost, still obstinately resisted. But his horse being stabbed under him, he fell; and as three knights contended for the honor of making him their prisoner, he gave his sword to the chevalier de Guerin, who fortunately came up. De Guerin, elected bishop of Senlis,

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this day acted as *marechal* under the king, in the arrangement of the battle. The son of Rosamond, also, William earl of Salisbury had surrendered himself to the bishop of Beauvais. He was the prelate whom Richard, as has been told, confined so long in prison, and at Bouvines he fought with a ponderous club, alledging, that the church-canonists did not permit him to shed blood. He met Salisbury, busied in carnage, and beat him to the ground. — Night began to fall, and as the defeat of the enemy was complete, the battle ceased*.

Otho, having escaped from the field, withdrew, as he could, into Brunswick, where he is no more heard of, leaving his rival in the quiet possession of empire, and where, four years after, he died. — The conqueror, by slow marches, proceeded to Paris, distributing his prisoners, who were numerous, in the castles as he passed; only reserving the earl of Flanders to grace his triumph. He entered his capital, and for eight days, all was festivity and gladness. — As the historians, who relate this great event, were principally of the French nation, we may be allowed to suspect some partiality in the narration. They augmented, perhaps, the number to the enemy,

* Guil. Brito, Rigord. Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

or they diminished their own; and the same may be said of the wounded, the killed, and the prisoners. No troops were braver or better disciplined than the Brabanters, the Flemings, the Germans, and the English, and their generals were the greatest warriors of the day; but the battle was won by the knights, or cavalry, which on the side of Philip, was uncommonly numerous.

It was not, it is said, till after his return to Paris, that Philip was fully sensible of the great importance of the victory he had gained; for he now discovered, that secret intrigues had been carried on with many barons of the realm, and that they only waited the moment of his defeat, publicly to take up arms. This would have been on the south of the Loire, and in Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, the nobles of which provinces, allured by promises, or the prospects which another change might open, showed a wish of returning to their former sovereign. The victory of Bouvines dissipated their rash design; and Philip prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. But, not long afterwards, he advanced with an army into Poitou, where the king of England was, and by the mediation of the legate, concluded with him a truce of five years. What policy induced Philip to adopt this measure, when, with ease,

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1214. it seems, he might have dispossessed the English of their remaining territory in France, does not appear. Probably it was owing to the disaffection in the barons, which had appeared, and which he feared to stimulate.

The interdict
taken from
England.

Before this time, the interdict had been taken from England. The messengers returned from Rome, bringing letters to the legate, who had not quitted the realm, which empowered him to remove the heavy grievance, and to compromise the dispute with the exiles. On this he summoned a great council to meet him in London, before which an accurate statement was laid of the money already paid, and of the debt still due. This amounted to thirteen thousand marks, for the payment of which two bishops stood sureties. Thus ended this irksome business. And then the legate, on the twenty-ninth of June, solemnly withdrew the interdict. It had lasted more than six years, to the injury of religion, the confusion of all order, and the detriment of the state. The tidings rang through the land, and the hearts of the people thrilled with gladness⁵.

The barons
meet at St.
Edmundsbury.

Concord thus restored, though shame had marked his own arms and those of his allies, John

⁵ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

might expect to find more good humor in his vassals, than hitherto he had experienced. On the twentieth of October he returned to England. The absence of many in the expedition to France, and the eventful crisis of the war in Flanders, had, for a time, suspended the deliberations of the friends to liberty. The cardinal also, whose mind of superior energy invigorated, whilst it modelled, the great design, had been engaged in the concerns of the interdict. But now no motive of further delay operated; and as the weeks of winter, the season of purposes and stratagem, came on, the barons met their friends, and they talked of the league they had formed with Langton, and of the oath they had taken. “The time,” they said, “is favorable: and the feast of St. Edmund approaches, when multitudes resort to his shrine. There we may assemble, without suspicion.” It was resolved.

The day came, the twentieth of November; and as the devotion was fashionable, the barons repaired to St. Edmundsbury, unobserved. Their meetings here were frequent, but secret; and in one of them, again was the charter produced, containing, in substance, the laws of the Confessor, which the primate had put into their hands. The sight of the venerable instrument roused the spirit of freedom; and without further

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deliberation, they hastened, in a body, to the church of the martyr. A more solemn and heart-swelling ceremony had never been witnessed. As seniority gave precedence, the barons advanced to the altar, and with their hands laid on it, swore: "If the king refuse to grant the rights, we claim, we will withdraw our fealty, and wage war on him, till by a charter, under his own seal, he shall confirm our just petitions." Each baron pronounced the oath. It was then agreed that, after christmas, they should wait on the king, and present their petition to him; and, in the mean time, should provide themselves with arms and horses, that, if he receded from his oath made before the primate, which was probable, they might be in readiness to seize his castles, and force him to compliance. This done, they separated, and withdrew*. Langton, it appears, was not present on the occasion.

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Their further
proceedings.

The king, when christmas came, held his court at Worcester. But alarms disturbed its festivity, and on the day itself, departing, he repaired to the New-Temple in London. The barons were here; and in a military array, which announced their purpose, they waited on the king, and presented their petition. It was, "that he

* Mat. Par.

“ would *confirm* certain liberties and laws of the
 “ Confessor, with other privileges, granted to
 “ themselves, to the realm of England, and to
 “ the English church, as are contained in the
 “ charter of Henry I. and in the laws just men-
 “ tioned.” They added: “ At Winchester, Sir,
 “ when you were absolved by our primate,
 “ that was your promise; and the oath you
 “ took, binds you to a compliance.” — John,
 with much agitation, heard the bold address,
 and surveying their arms, said: “ Your petition
 “ contains matter, weighty and arduous. I must
 “ have leisure till easter, that, with due delibe-
 “ ration, I may be able to do justice to myself,
 “ and satisfy the dignity of my crown.” —
 Debates ensued, and, on both sides, proposals
 were made; when the king finally consented,
 that the cardinal, the bishop of Ely, and Wil-
 liam earl of Pembroke, should be his sureties;
 that, on the appointed day, he would give
 them the satisfaction they demanded. On this
 the barons returned home. — But from this
 delay, John vainly fancied great advantage might
 be drawn, He caused the oath of fealty to be
 renewed by his subjects, and the act of homage
 by his vassals. And then, (which would shield
 him, he thought, from every danger,) on the
 second of February, he took the cross, declaring

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his intention of leading an army into Palestine'. But, by no precaution, did he attempt to recover the favor of the people, or to weaken the combination of the nobles.

In easter-week, the barons met at Stamford, in great military pomp, numbering in their retinue two thousand knights, with their retainers variously armed, and pledged to the cause of liberty. The names of the barons, as recorded by the historian, are forty-five; but it seemed, he says that nearly the whole nobility of the realm had now joined the league. — The king was at Oxford. — On the Monday, therefore, after easter, (which was the appointed day,) the barons proceeded to Brackley, where a deputation, composed of the primate, the earl of Pembroke, and some others, met them from the king, requesting to know, in his name, what were those laws and liberties, which they demanded from their sovereign? They delivered to the deputies a schedule, containing the chief articles of their petition. "These are our claims," they said, "which if not instantly granted by the king, and confirmed to us under the royal signet, our arms shall force him to compliance." The deputies returned, and the cardinal, with the schedule in his hand expounded its contents. "And why

' Mat. Par. an. 1215. Annal. Waver.

“do they not demand my crown also?” exclaimed John furiously: “These things are vain and frivolous, contrary to the plainest reason. — By God’s teeth, I will not grant liberties to them, that shall make me a slave.” It was to no purpose, that they urged every argument to obtain his compliance. He ordered them to return, and to let the barons know, what his resolution was^s.

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The confederated nobles stood not in hesitation. They received the king’s reply, and at once chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, naming him the *marechal of the army of God and of the holy church*; which signified that, as the king had violated his oath, they viewed themselves, in the language of the times, as engaged in a holy war, against the enemy of justice and of the church: and seizing their arms, they marched against the castle of Northampton. But they were without engines, and their attacks on the walls were fruitless. — When we know how premeditated the insurrection was, this improvidence must surprise us. — Fifteen days passed, when they raised the siege, and proceeded to Bedford, which was delivered into their hands. Here messengers arrived from the capital, with secret advice, that the principal citizens were in their interest, and that the gates

^s Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

BOOK would be open to receive them. The tidings
VI. gave them joy. They marched to Ware, and on
1215. the following morning, which was Sunday, the
 twenty-fourth of May, while the people were
 at mass, the army, in silence, entered the city.
 And now conscious of their superior strength,
 the barons issued proclamations, requiring all
 such, who had hitherto remained neutral, to
 join them against their perjured prince, and
 menacing, in case of refusal, to treat them as the
 public enemies of the state. The commination was
 hardly needful, for few, it seems, were sincerely
 attached to the royal party; and as the proclama-
 tion called for a decision, they quitted their
 castles, and joined the standard of freedom. Some
 only, at the head of whom was the earl of Pem-
 broke, and Salisbury now returned from captivity,
 judged it most expedient, not to depart from court.
 The bishops also remained, with the primate*.

Runnemede. Great, at this moment, was the terror of the
 king. He saw himself deserted, scarcely seven
 knights remaining near his person; and it was
 evident, should the barons proceed, that all his
 castles must fall, and himself become their prisoner.
 The duplicity, he had often practised, it would be
 now, he thought, most expedient to exercise;

* Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

and circumstances might arise, which would dissipate the league, or lull its leaders into a fatal security. He resolved to give them their terms, and to throw himself on fortune, for such redress or vengeance, as time should offer. "Go," said he to Pembroke and other deputies, "inform the barons, that, for the good of peace and the exaltation of my realm, I will freely grant them the laws and liberties, which they ask. Tell them to name a day and a place, where we may meet to adjust our differences." The deputies repaired to London, and announcing the king's proposal, it was received with unbounded joy. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the fifteenth of June; and the place be Runnemedes¹⁰."—Runnemedes, which has been interpreted the *mead of council*, was a meadow between Staines and Windsor, where, in ancient times, great assemblies had been often held¹¹; but to which the approaching event would give a never-ending celebrity.

On the day, both parties appeared on Runnemedes. With the king were the primate and the archbishop of Dublin, seven bishops, Pandulph the pontiff's friend, and Almeric the master of the English Templars: of the laity, the earl of Pembroke, and

¹⁰ Mat. Par.

¹¹ Mat. West. an. 1215.

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fourteen other earls and barons. — To enumerate the opposite party, observes the historian, would be needless, which comprehended the remaining nobility of England. They stood apart, waiting the important interview. — In what form the conference opened, is not said; nor who were the mediators. We only know, that debates, as was natural, ensued; and that various proposals were made. But the king was soon sensible, that he must comply. With a facility, therefore, which might justly have raised suspicion, he acquiesced in their demand, and signed the charter of laws and liberties, which the barons presented to him¹². This was the GREAT CHARTER.

Magna
Charta.

The *preamble* states that, “for the salvation
“ of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors and
“ heirs, to the honor of God, and the exaltation
“ of the holy church, and amendment of the
“ kingdom, by the advice of his prelates and
“ nobles, (whose names are mentioned,) the
“ king had granted to God, and confirmed by
“ the present charter, for himself and heirs for
“ ever,” the following rights and liberties.

1. “That the church of England shall be
“ free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties

¹² Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

“ inviolable.” — It then mentions a charter, which, some time before, he had granted, with a view to these liberties, and which the pope had confirmed, establishing the *freedom of elections* in all cases of vacancy, whether in churches or monasteries.

In such general and unrestricted terms is this article conveyed, which might well prove a source of endless altercation. The *Constitutions of Clarendon* seem to have been forgotten, while the church was thus *established*, in the full possession of whatever might be called her *rights* and *liberties*. Such had been the language, though not quite so general, of the preceding charters of Henry I. Stephen, Henry II.

2. “ To all the *freemen* of the realm the “ underwritten liberties are granted.”

By *freemen* is meant every description of subjects, from the highest to the lowest order of vassals who were not slaves or bondmen. This will appear.

3. “ If any earl, or baron, or others, who hold “ of the king in *chief*, by military service, shall die, “ and at the time of their death, the heir is of *full* “ age, and owes a *relief*, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is, the heir “ or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl’s barony, “ by a hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a “ baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred “ marks: the heir or heirs of a knight,

BOOK VI. 1215. “ for a whole knight’s fee, by a hundred shillings
 “ at most : and he who shall owe less shall give
 “ less, according to the ancient custom of fees. ”

When any of the king’s tenants *in capite* died, the king seized the estate, and the heir, though of the age of twenty-one, before he recovered his right, was obliged to sue for his lands, the possession of which he received on doing homage, and paying a certain composition called *relief*. Many abuses, during the arbitrary reigns of the Norman kings, had rendered this custom peculiarly grievous. The charter of Henry I. had ordained, that the *relief* should be *meet* and *equitable*; but neither was that charter, though renewed by Henry II. ever executed, nor could a loose expression be any check, on the exorbitant demands of power.

4. “ But if the heir of any such be *under age*,
 “ and shall be *in ward*; when he comes of age,
 “ he shall have his inheritance *without relief*. ”

During the nonage of such heirs, their persons and estates were in the custody of the crown, which received all the profits. *Wardships* and *reliefs*, as has been shown, were branches of the royal revenue. The practice of *wards* was founded on the notion, that every *fief* was a benefice; and therefore that, while the heir, as a minor, could not perform his military services, the issues thereof
 naturally

naturally reverted to the superior, who could employ another in his stead. But in the charter of Henry I. this feudal right had been surrendered to the widow of the deceased, or to the nearest relation of the heir. That here the crown should have been permitted to resume it, may seem extraordinary.

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5. "The warden of the land of such heir, shall take therefrom only reasonable profits, and that without destruction and waste of the men or things. And if the guardianship of the lands be committed to the sheriff, or any other, and he make destruction and waste, the king shall compel him to give satisfaction, and the lands shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be answerable for the issues. And if such wardship be given or sold to any one, and he make destruction or waste upon the lands, he shall lose the wardship, which shall be committed to two men, as before."

Thus was the lord empowered to dispose of his wardship, by appointing a warden, or by a deed of gift or sale, for the term of nonage; in all which cases, considerable sums of money were generally raised.

6. "But the warden, so long as he hath the

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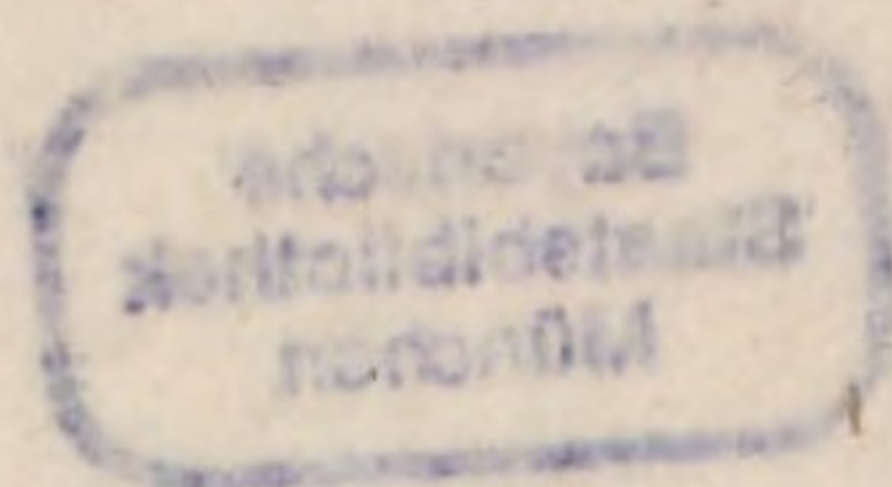
BOOK VI. 1215. “wardship of the land, shall maintain the houses
“ parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other
“ things pertaining to that land, out of the issues
“ of the same land; and shall restore to the heir,
“ when he comes of full age, his whole land
“ stocked with ploughs and carriages, according
“ as the time of wainage shall require, and the
“ issues of the land can reasonably bear.”

These regulations might prevent some abuses; but the practice of *wardships* was in itself highly oppressive. Let it not be asked, why the barons did not demand their suppression; or rather, that the grant of Henry I. in this instance, should be renewed? It is too obvious, that the feudal right, which the sovereign was here permitted to retain, would, by the same act, be confirmed to themselves, in regard to their own vassals.

7. “Heirs shall be married without *disparagement*.”

That is, agreeably to their rank. The king could dispose of them at pleasure, provided, that, before the marriage was contracted, the nearest relations were made acquainted with it¹³. The same was the power of all other lords. It was another source of abuse and oppression; but it was likewise a source of wealth.

¹³ Mat. Par.



8. "A widow, after the death of her husband,
 " shall forthwith and without difficulty, have her
 " marriage-portion (*maritagium*) and her inhe-
 " ritance; nor shall she give any thing for her
 " dower, or her inheritance, which her husband
 " and she held at the day of his death: and she
 " may remain in the mansion of her husband,
 " forty days after his death."

9. "She shall not be distrained to marry, so
 " long as she shall be willing to live without a
 " husband. But she shall give security, that she
 " will not marry, without the royal assent, if she
 " holds of the king; or without the consent of
 " the lord, of whom she holds."

Nearly the same clauses are in the charter of Henry I. which contains regulations about female-heirs, that are not repeated here.

10. "Neither the king nor his officers, shall
 " seize any land or rent for any debt, so long
 " as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to
 " pay it."

11. "If the principal debtor fail in the payment
 " of the debt, then the sureties shall answer for it."

These are restraining statutes, and show what before had been the power of the monarch.

12, 13. "Money borrowed from a Jew shall
 " pay no interest, while the heir to the borrower
 " continues under age, of whomsoever he may

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“hold. — And if any one die indebted to the
 “Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay
 “nothing of that debt; and his children shall be
 “provided with necessaries, according to the
 “estate of the deceased; and out of the residue
 “the debt shall be paid, saving the service of
 “the lords. In like manner it shall be with the
 “debts, due to other persons than Jews.”

“The last clause is only to be referred to the
 “words, “saving the service of the lords.”

14. “No *scutage* or *aid* shall be imposed on the
 “kingdom, unless by the common council of
 “the kingdom, except to ransom the king’s per-
 “son, and to make his eldest son a knight, and
 “to marry his eldest daughter once: and for this
 “shall only be paid a reasonable aid.”

By *scutage* (*servitium scuti*) was meant military service, due to the king from the tenants in chief. It likewise signified the pecuniary aid, often paid to the king *in lieu* of that service; and sometimes the tax, which was imposed on each vassal, for the service of the public. *Scutages* and *aids* (which latter always mean a pecuniary subsidy) had often been arbitrarily imposed. This clause, therefore, which forbids the levying such subsidies, without the sanction of the national council, becomes infinitely important. The three great feudal cases were excepted, however, from the

rule, and that under a specious stipulation, which still left an exorbitant prerogative in the hands of the crown. But the barons, also, over their respective vassals, were to enjoy the same arbitrary privilege.

15, 16. "In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and that the city shall have all her ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. — Furthermore, all other cities, and burghs, and towns, and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs, and shall have the common council of the kingdom, concerning the assessment of their aids, except in the three cases aforesaid."

Cities, therefore, and towns contributed to the national subsidy, as did the tenants of the crown; and they were a part of the royal demesne, or invested by feoffment in the clergy or baronage. They held their liberties and customs under certain tenures, or the obligation of annual payments to their lords: but their privileges were now secured to them, and arbitrary assessments were removed.

17, 18, 19. "And for the assessing of *scutages* shall be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, *singly*, by writs from the king. — And furthermore, shall be

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“ summoned , *in general* , by the sheriffs and
 “ bailiffs of the crown , *all others who hold of the*
 “ *king in chief* , to a certain day , that is , at the
 “ end of forty days at least , and to a certain
 “ place ; and in all writs of such summons , the
 “ cause of the summons shall be expressed.—And
 “ summons being thus made , the business shall
 “ proceed on the day appointed , according to
 “ the advice of such as are present although all
 “ that were summoned come not . ”

Thus was formed the *common council of the kingdom* , such as in the preceeding history we have seen often assembled. It consisted only of the king's *immediate* vassals , of such as held of him in chief , with an exclusion of all other orders of citizens. The same term of *common council of the kingdom* occurs in the charter of the conqueror. It was no new establishment : but strange it is that , in this feudal congress , many writers should have discovered *all* the organs of a *parliament* , arising from the equal representation of the people ! As the kings , in matters of great national concern , had often acted *without* the advice of this council , the present clauses were introduced , to restore to it its constitutional vigor.

20. “ The king shall not in future grant to
 “ any one , that he take *aid* of his own free

“ vassals , unless to ransom his body ; and to make
 “ his eldest son a knight ; and to marry his eldest
 “ daughter once : and for this shall only be paid
 “ reasonable aid. ”

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The power of the barons had been hitherto as tyrannical, as that of the crown, only that the royal permission seems to have been, sometimes, necessary, to sanction their oppression. And the discretionary power, in certain cases, of levying a *reasonable aid*, thus still intrusted to them, shows how little they had in view, the general interest of the people.

21. “ No man shall be compelled to perform
 “ more service for a knight’s fee, or other free
 “ tenure, than is due from thence. ”

A *knight’s fee* denoted the complete service of one knight. Baronies consisted of these fees, in a greater or less number, according to the original charter of feoffment or investiture. Each fee being charged with the service of one knight, if a barony held two fees, it sent two knights, at the call of the king, or subsidized for two, as the summons might direct, and so on, in proportion to the number of fees. But these fees were held by knighthood, as well as by barony, and this constituted the two orders of knights and barons. The lands or honors, to which the fees were annexed, were very disproportionate in extent and real value.

B O O K 22, 23. "Common pleas shall not follow the
 VI. "court, but be holden in some certain
 1215. "place. — And trials *de nova disseisina*, *de morte*
 " *antecefforis*, *et de ultima presentatione*, shall be
 " taken in their proper counties, by two justi-
 " ciaries, sent four times a year, for that purpose."

The court of common pleas was, at this time, erected, or received a legal confirmation; and by that establishment, the *curia regis*, which generally attended the royal person, and was the great seat of judicature, became relieved from a variety of causes. — The appointment also of justices, at stated times, to hold assizes in the counties, tended much to the ease of the people, and the preservation of order. We noticed, in the foregoing history, many transient attempts to establish that wise regulation.

24, 25. "A free man shall not be amerced for
 " a small fault, but according to the degree of
 " the fault; and for a great fault, in proportion
 " to the heinousness of it; saving to him his
 " *contenementum* (means of livelihood): and after
 " the same manner, a merchant, saving to him
 " his *mercandisa* (means of trading). — And a
 " husbandman (*villanus*) shall be amerced after
 " the same manner, saving to him his wainage
 " (implements of husbandry): and none of the
 " aforesaid amerciements shall be assessed, but by
 " the oath of honest men of the neighbourhood."

Amerciament was a pecuniary punishment for trespasses of various kinds, and was distinguished from *fine*. The offender was supposed to lie at the mercy of his lord, whence the word came. — The provisions of these two articles are peculiarly interesting, being calculated to relieve an order of citizens, who, till this time, had been much oppressed. I translate the word *villanus* husbandman, rather than *villain*; because the latter sometimes imported a *slave* or *bondman*, which, as is evident, was not here meant. The charter professes to have in view the *freemen* of the kingdom only, (art. 2.) among whom were such merchants and husbandmen, as possessing certain fees, were denominated *libere tenentes*. The class of *free socmen*, or tenants in socage, is well known. Villains or slaves, properly so called, were either bound to the person of the lord and his heirs, or were annexed to the manor, as a part of the owner's substance. They were not deemed members of the common-wealth, or entitled to any rights of vassals. For such no charter provided liberties, though that of the conqueror, in certain cases, provided for their emancipation. —
 26, 27. "Earls and barons shall not be amerced,
 "but by their peers, and according to the quality
 "of the offence. — And no clerk shall be amerced
 "for his lay-tenement, but according to the

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BOOK VI. "proportion aforesaid, and not according to the
"value of his ecclesiastical benefice."

1215. 28, 29, 30. "Neither town, nor any person,
"shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers,
"unless anciently and of right they are bound
"to do it. — No sheriff, constable, coroners, or
"king's bailiffs, shall hold places of the crown.
" — All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and
"trethings (third part of a county, vulg. *riding*,)
"shall stand at the old ferm, without any increase,
"except in the demesne lands of the crown."

31, 32. "If any one, holding a lay-fee of the
"crown, dies, the debt he may owe to the king
"shall be first discharged, and the executors shall
"then fulfil the will of the deceased. — And if
"any freeman dies intestate, his chattels shall be
"distributed by his nearest relations and friends
"by view of the church, saving to every one his
"debts, which the deceased owed."

33, 34, 35. "No constable, or bailiff of the
"crown shall take corn or other chattels of any
"man, unless he presently gives him money for
"it, or hath respite of payment from the seller.
" — No constable shall distrain any knight to
"give money for castle-guard, if he himself will
"do it in his own person, or by another able man,
"in case himself is hindered by any reasonable

“ cause. — And if the king leads him, or sends
 “ him, into the army, he shall be free from
 “ castle-guard, for the time he shall be in the
 “ army by the king’s command.”

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36, 37. “ No sheriff or bailiff of the crown, or
 “ any other, shall take horses or carts of any for
 “ carriage, without the consent of the freeman. —
 “ Nor shall the king, or his officers, take any
 “ man’s timber for his castles, or other uses, unless
 “ by consent of the owner of the timber.”

38. “ The king shall retain the lands of those,
 “ who are convicted of felony, but one year and
 “ a day; and then they shall be delivered to the
 “ lord of the fee.”

39. All weirs shall be destroyed in the rivers
 “ Thames and Medway, and throughout all
 “ England, except on the sea-coast.”

40. “ The writ, which is called *præcipe*, shall
 “ not be granted to any one of any tenement,
 “ whereby a freeman may lose his cause (or
 “ right of pleading.)

Præcipe quod reddat was a writ, or in general
 an order from the king, or some court of justice,
 to put in possession one who complains of having
 been unjustly ousted.

41. “ There shall be one measure of wine
 “ and one of ale, through the realm, and one
 “ measure of corn; that is, the *London-quarter*:

BOOK VI. "and one breadth of died cloth, and the weights
shall be as the measures."

1213. 42. "From henceforward nothing shall be given
or taken for a writ of *Inquisition*, from him that
desires an inquisition of life or limbs, but it
shall be granted *gratis*, and not denied."

—43, 44. "If any one holds of the crown by
fee-farm, or *focage*, or *burgage*, and holds
lands of another by *military service*, the king
shall not have the wardship of the heir and
land, which belongs to another man's fee, by
reason of what he holds of the crown: nor shall
he have the wardship of the *fee-farm*, *focage*,
or *burgage*, unless the *fee-farm* is bound to
perform *military service*. Neither shall the
king have the wardship of an heir, or of any
land, which he holds of another by *military*
service, by reason of any *petit serjeanty* he holds
of him, as by the service of giving the king
daggers, arrows, or the like."

To hold in *fee-farm* was, when some rent was
reserved by the king or lord on the creation of
the tenancy: in *focage*, on condition of plowing
the lord's land, or doing other officers of hus-
bandry: in *burgage*, when the inhabitants of a
borough held their tenements at a certain rent.
Petit-serjeanty is explained. There was also *grand-*
serjeanty of a higher order. But the tenure

of *military service*, in an age of chivalry, was deemed the most honorable.

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45. "No bailiff, in future, shall put any man to his law (his oath,) on his single accusation; without credible witnesses produced to prove it."

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46. "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, (of his rights,) or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

47. "Right or justice shall be sold to no man, denied to no man, or deferred to no man."

48, 49. "All merchants shall have safe-conduct, to go out of, and to come into, England, and to stay there, and to pass as well by land as by water, to buy and sell, without any evil tolls, by the ancient and allowed customs, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation in war with the king. — And if any such be found in the land, in the beginning of a war, they shall be attached (apprehended,) without damage to their bodies or goods, until it be known how our merchants be treated in the nation at war with the king; and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe here."

50. "It shall be lawful, in future, for any one to go out of the realm, and to return safely

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“ and securely, by land and water, saving his
 “ fealty to the king; (unless in time of war, for
 “ a short space, on account of the common
 “ benefit of the kingdom), except prisoners and
 “ outlaws, according to the law of the land, and
 “ people in war with the king, and merchants,
 “ as just said.”

51. “ If any man holds of an *escheat*, which is
 “ a barony, and in the king’s hands, his heir
 “ shall be bound to no other relief or service,
 “ than if the barony had remained in possession
 “ of the baron.”

Escheats were lands or honors, distinguished from the ancient demesnes of the crown, and which had devolved on it by default of heirs, or from crimes, or breach of duty. They were a great source of power and revenue; and the prince was at liberty to retain them in his hands, or to alienate them, by sale or donation, to his friends and servants.

52 “ Men who dwell without the forest, from
 “ henceforth shall not come before the justiciaries
 “ of the forest upon common summons, unless they
 “ be impleaded, or be pledges for any who were
 “ attached for something concerning the forest.

53. “ None shall be made justiciaries, constables,
 “ sheriffs, or bailiffs, but who are knowing in the law
 “ of the realm, and are disposed duly to observe it.”

54. “ All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters thereof from the kings of England, or an ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them, when void, as they ought to have.”

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55, 56. “ All woods that have been afforested, in the time of the king, shall forthwith be disforested, and the like shall be done with the embankments of rivers, of the same date. — All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, and foresters, warreners, sheriffs, and their officers, rivers and their keepers, shall forthwith be inquired into, and be utterly abolished.”

57, 58, 59. “ Hostages, which the king had taken from his English subjects, shall be given up. — Certain families of foreigners (whose names are mentioned) shall be removed from their employments — And when peace shall be restored, all foreign soldiers, cross-bow-men, and mercenaries, shall be sent away, who came with horses and arms to the injury of the kingdom.”

60, 61, 62. regard the restitution of lands, castles, or rights, which the king had unjustly seized—also the reparation of injuries, which his father and brother had committed — and the disforesting of woods they had inclosed, with a general satisfaction for wardships and abbeyes, which

BOOK belonged to the fees of his subjects. A respite
VI. for these discharges is allowed, such as was
1215. granted to crusaders.

63. "No man shall be taken or imprisoned;
 " upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of
 " any other man than her husband."

64. "All unjust and illegal fines, levied by
 " the king, and all amerciaments imposed unjust-
 " ly, shall be entirely forgiven, or be left to
 " the decision of the twenty-five barons, here-
 " after to be appointed for the preservation of
 " peace."

65. 66, 67, promise justice to the Welsh
 for any wrongs they had endured — even from
 his father or brother — and the release of their
 hostages.

68, regards the hostages, and the right and
 liberties of the king of Scotland.

69. "All the aforesaid customs and liberties,
 " which the king has granted to be holden in
 " his kingdom, as much as it belongs to him
 " towards his people; all his subjects, as well
 " clergy as laity, shall observe, as far as they are
 " concerned, towards their dependents."

This clause is important: and the gradation of
 feudal dependences required it, whereby each
 lord stood in the same relation towards his vassals,
 as did the king towards his barons, or the

immediate

immediate tenants of the crown. As the system of
oppression had been regularly diffused, in the same
order, was justice, in future, to be administered.

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70. “ And whereas, for the honor of God,
“ and the amendment of our kingdom, and for
“ quieting the discord that has arisen between us
“ and our barons, we have granted all the things
“ afore said; willing to render them firm, and
“ lasting, we do give and grant to them the fol-
“ lowing security:” — It then enacts, that the
barons chuse twenty-five of their order, who shall
take care to observe, and cause to be observed,
the peace and liberties thus granted, and by the
present charter confirmed. If the king his justici-
ary, or officers shall not perform, or shall break
through, any of these articles, and the offence be
notified to four barons to be chosen out of the
twenty-five, they shall repair to the king, or, in
his absence, to the justiciary, and laying open
the grievance, shall petition for redress without
delay; and if it be not redressed, within forty
days, from the notification, then shall they lay
the cause before the rest of the twenty-five barons;
and these, together with the community of the
whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress the
king all the ways possible, namely, by seizing
his castles, lands, possessions, and in any other
manner they can, till the grievance be redressed
according to their pleasure, saving harmless

BOOK VI. 1215. the person of the king, of the queen, and his children; and when it is redressed, they shall become obedient as before.

71. 72. “ Any person whatsoever in the kingdom may swear, that he will obey the orders of the twenty-five barons, in the execution of the premises. — And as for those who will not, on their own accord, swear to join them, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our order to make them take the oath to that effect. ”

73, 74. “ If any one of the twenty-five dies, or quits the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from executing these things; the rest of the twenty-five shall chuse another, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner. — And in all things that are committed to their charge, if, when they assemble, they shall disagree, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot, come; whatever the major part of those present shall agree on or enjoin, shall be reputed as firm and valid, as if the twenty-five had given their consent. ”

75. “ And we will not, by ourselves, or others, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked, or lessened; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other. ”

76, 77. “ And all the ill-will, anger, and
 “ malice, arisen between us and our subjects, of
 “ the clergy and laity, from the beginning of the
 “ dissension, we have fully remitted and forgiven:
 “ moreover all trespasses from the sixteenth year
 “ of our reign. — To this effect, we have given
 “ letters patent.”

78. “ Wherefore, we will and firmly enjoin,
 “ that the church of England be free, and that
 “ all men in our kingdom, have and hold, all
 “ the foresaid liberties, rights, and concessions,
 “ truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully
 “ and wholly, to themselves and their heirs, of
 “ us and our heirs, in all things and places for
 “ ever, as is aforesaid.”

79. “ It is also sworn, as well on our part,
 “ as on the part of the barons, that all the
 “ things aforesaid shall faithfully and sincerely
 “ be observed.”

Given under our hand, &c.”

Such was *Magna Charta*, and such the laws,
 we may infer, of the Confessor, the renovation
 of which had been so ardently desired. The
 concluding articles, which invested the council
 of twenty-five with the real sovereignty of the
 realm, may be viewed as an unwarrantable

¹⁴ Mat. Par. et Mag. char. ex Autograph. Cot. ap. Rapin.

BOOK invasion of the prerogative: but the tyrannical
 V. and faithless character of John was known, against
 1215. which some barrier must be raised, or what availed
 it, to have drawn from his reluctant hand a
 written charter of liberties? — At the same time
 was granted a *Charter of forests*, comprised in
 eighteen articles, each of which tends to prove
 how great had been the oppression, under pre-
 tence of supporting the prerogative of the crown ¹⁵.
 — The *Charter of liberties* being signed and
 sworn to by the king and nobles, the council
 of twenty-five was chosen. Their names are
 recorded. These swore, on their souls, to be
 faithful to the great commission they received;
 and the assembly promised obedience to them.
 Writs, under the royal signet, were then sent to
 the sheriffs of the counties, ordaining that all
 orders of men observe the laws of the charter;
 and the compulsory means to be used, should
 the king recede from his engagements, were
 universally prescribed. Thus closed the transac-
 tions of Runnemedes; when the barons departed,
 some to London, which was still to remain in
 their power, and the rest to their castles, anxious
 for the general issue, notwithstanding the pre-
 cautions they had taken, and the exultation that
 weak minds felt ¹⁶,

¹⁵ Mat. Par.

¹⁶ Mat. Par.

John, with a few followers, spent the night of the conference at Windsor, in gloomy, reposeless agitation; and hither came the men, foreigners mostly without fame or fortune, who had gained his confidence, and whom the fifty-eighth article of the charter proscribed. In taunting irritation they addressed their monarch; laid before him his fallen state; and roused, with ease, the latent spirit of repentance and revenge. In describing the series of this growing passion, the historian portrays the wild deportment of a maniac. But with some composure, he dispatched messengers to such governors of his castles, as were foreigners, and devoted to his cause, commanding them to lay in provisions, to strengthen the walls, to prepare machines, and to hire what mercenary forces could be collected; but let it be done without noise, he added, and with caution, lest the barons be alarmed. The alarm was unavoidable. Himself then, to prepare what schemes of vengeance might please him best, and to indulge, far from the prying eye of curiosity and the vigilance of his enemies, the wayward rancor of his heart, hastily quitted Windsor, and retired, in disguise, to the Isle of Wight. And here he soon took the resolution of applying to Rome for the aid of Innocent, and to the neighbouring countries for a supply of

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John meditates vengeance, and retires.

B O O K mercenary forces. The seventy-fifth article of the
VI. charter he as little heeded, as those which gave
1215. relief to his vassals. Pandulphus, whom the prospect of some promotion, which should reward his labors, still detained in England, was, with other messengers, sent to Rome; and the bishop of Worcester, who was chancellor, and the courtly bishop of Norwich, with some soldiers of fortune, undertook to raise the necessary supply of men. They failed to the continent.

The king, with a few companions, remained in the island, waiting, in dark impatience, for the issue of his plans; and sometimes mixing with the fishermen and mariners of the neighbouring ports, he strove by the bold manners of a pirate, to gain the friendship of that hardy race.—What, in the mean time, were the suspicious thoughts of the nobles? The king had disappeared, and fame had not yet disclosed his retreat. But they saw the hostile preparations in his castles, and soon they knew, where he was, and what were the measures he had taken. To relieve the toils of their late attention to business, a tournament had been appointed to be held at Stamford. They now put off its celebration to a more distant day, and named another place, less remote from London. In this city the great body continued: but, from the letters they addressed to the absent barons, their thoughts,

it appears, ran more on the approaching tournament, than to provide resistance against the exertions of the enemy".

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Conduct of
Innocent.

Pandulphus, with the speed of a faithful minister, had hastened to the feet of Innocent. There he exposed the cause of his journey, and implored the pontiff's aid against the barons of England. "They have raised a rebellion in the land," he said, "and have demanded from their prince laws and civil liberties which to grant became not the royal dignity. The king publicly protested, that his realm was a fief of the Roman church, and therefore that, without the knowledge of the pontiff, he was not free to enact new statutes, or to prejudice in any thing the rights of his lord. He appealed then, thereby subjecting himself and realm to your protection. This the barons heeded not: they marched to London, and having seized that capital of the empire, hold it still. Then, in military array repeating their demands, the king submitted, for he could no longer withstand their violence." So saying, the messengers presented certain heads of the charter, which seemed best to favor the royal cause. Innocent read,

Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215. and frowning indignantly, exclaimed: "Do these
 " barons then aim to dethrone a prince, crossed
 " for the holy land, and protected by the apostolic
 " see? Or would they transfer our sovereignty to
 " another? By St. Peter, this outrage shall not
 " go unpunished." He convened the cardinals,
 and taking their advice, addressed a bull to all
 the faithful. It is dated from Anagni, August
 twenty-four¹⁸.

It states that John, though by his crimes he had drawn on himself and kingdom the sentence of excommunication and interdict, had repented, and made satisfaction to the church; that he had subjected his realm to the holy see, under an annual tribute, and sworn fealty to it; that he had taken the cross, and was preparing to make war on the infidels; that, in this crisis, the barons of England, instigated by the devil, had rebelled against him; that himself (Innocent) had used every means to restore concord; that the king had been disposed to listen to moderate counsels, and to correct abuses; that he had appealed to Rome; and that the barons, regardless of every duty, had persisted in their measures, and finally compelled their prince to grant them terms, derogatory from the rights and dignity of his crown.

¹⁸ Mat. Par.

It concludes: "But since it was said to us by the
" lord, *I appointed thee over nations and kingdoms,*
" *to pluck up and to destroy, to build and to plant;*
" not willing to dissemble the audacious deed,
" which brings contempt on the holy see, ruin
" on the rights of kings, shame on the English
" nation, and threatens to annul the great con-
" cerns of the cross of Christ; we reprobate and
" condemn the proceeding, forbidding the said
" king to observe the charter, and the barons to
" require its execution; and we pronounce it,
" in all its clauses, null and void, that, at no
" time, it may have validity."—Another bull of
the same date is addressed to the barons, wherein,
having repeated the substance of the first, he com-
mands them, as their spiritual father and suzerain
lord, to renounce the charter, and to be recon-
ciled to the king, who may then be disposed to
listen to their just petitions, in which himself pro-
mises to be their mediator: "and what shall then
" be obtained," he says, "shall be firm and
" permanent for ever." He exhorts them to sub-
mit, lest something worse befall them; and to send
their proctors to the general council, which was
soon to be assembled, surrendering themselves in
confidence to his award. "With the blessing of
" heaven," he concludes, "we will then adopt
" measures, whereby, every grievance and

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BOOK VI. 1215. "abuse being utterly abolished, your king shall
 "be satisfied in his rights, and the clergy and
 "all the people shall enjoy peace and liberty"¹⁹.

Preparations
 for a civil war.

The representation of facts, which the bulls exhibited, was, in some instances, untrue; in others, overcharged. So it is, when party-views distort the eye of equitable judgment. They were sent to England; on which the barons, regardless of their contents, and well-aware, that further dalliance might bring ruin on their measures, resolved again to take up arms, and to secure the possession of the capital. William de Albiney, a nobleman of great military fame, at the head of a chosen band, entered the castle of Rochester, having been solemnly assured by the confederated barons, before he left London, that in case of an attack, they would fly to his rescue. The castle, not long before, had been committed by the king to the custody of the primate. It was ill-stored with provisions, and worse with engines of defence: but de Albiney entered, and with him a hundred and twenty knights, with their retainers.

John had passed nearly three months in the Isle of Wight, and the time was come for the return of his agents. He sailed to Dover, where he

¹⁹ Mat. Par.

had the satisfaction to be informed, that a vast armament was approaching to his assistance. The prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and the lands and honors of the opulent barons, which the king's emissaries had been empowered to offer, allured thousands to his standard. From Poitou and Gasconne, came Savaric de Mauleon, and Geoffry and Oliver de Buteville, brothers, with a formidable troop of knights and armed men: from the side of Brabant, came Walter Buck, Gerard Sottini, and Godeschal, with three legions of heavy-armed soldiers and cross-bow-men: and from Flanders, came a multitude, which is not numbered, men inured to rapine and bloodshed, the outcasts and freebooters of society. These John received exultingly on the beach of Dover. They swore fealty to him, and with them he marched to Rochester. De Albiney had been three days in the castle. The engines of attack were soon brought up, and the savage army encompassed the walls. It was now the end of September.

But hardly had the siege opened, when a furious tempest began to howl, such as, even in the equinoctial season, no man had witnessed; and in that tempest perished Hugh de Boves, with an army, or rather a colony, of forty thousand souls, whom he had embarked in the port of Calais.

BOOK VI. 1215. He was a bold and experienced adventurer; but a man of the basest principles, who had long served the king, and on whom, it is said, he had promised to settle the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. The hand of heaven seemed visible in his overthrow; but the king wailed his loss, with the frantic effusions of a madman²⁰.—The castle of Rochester bravely resisted, looking hourly for the promised succours. The barons, indeed, once advanced to its relief; but with no views, it seemed, of manly resolution; for, without having seen the enemy, they returned, to indulge, says the historian, in the excesses of play and prodigality, and the enervating pleasures of the capital. De Albiney then, only reduced by famine, though scarcely a stone was standing round him, with the concurrence of his brave companions, surrendered. The siege had lasted two months. With the ferocity of a monster, John commanded the general and his whole garrison to be hanged; but William de Mauleon suggesting to him the danger of reprisals, he was contented to butcher the inferior prisoners, while the knights, with de Albiney, were sent to the castles of Corf and Nottingham. The cause of the barons received a mortal wound²¹.

²⁰ Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

²¹ Mat. Par. Mat. West.

While these things were doing, Innocent, in great irritation, that his advice and menaces were disregarded, had excommunicated the barons, committing the execution of the sentence to the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading, and the noted Pandulphus. In a brief written to them, he complains of the primate and his suffragans, who, for not having succoured their king against the rebels, were, with reason, suspected of being accomplices in their guilt. "Lo!" says he, "how they defend the patrimony of the Roman church; how they protect the champions of Christ. Aiming to dethrone him, from whose arms the christian cause looked for aid, they are become worse than Saracens. Wherefore, we excommunicate all disturbers of the public peace, with their accomplices and abettors, and we lay their lands under an interdict; strictly enjoining the primate and his bishops, solemnly to announce this sentence, through the realm of England, and to command all subjects to give aid to their sovereign. Should any bishop not comply with this order, he is suspended from his functions, and obedience is no longer due to him."

Armed with the powers of Rome, the commissioners waited on the cardinal, who had actually embarked for Italy, to which the meeting

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The barons
are excom-
municated,
and Langton
goes to Rome.

BOOK VI. 1215. of the general council called him. They signified their commission, and, in the pontiff's name, commanded him to execute the sentence, in the manner specified by the brief. He hesitated, and begged a respite, till he should himself have seen his holiness, urging, that the sentence had been surreptitiously obtained. "Truth has been with-held," he continued; "nor will I publish the sentence, unless I know more of the pontiff's will." The commissioners then, without further ceremony, declared him suspended from all the functions of his office; to which Langton tranquilly submitted, and departed for Rome. Their next step was, to pronounce excommunication against such barons, as were in arms; but as the brief did not specify their names, the casuistry of the age taught them to regard the censure, as nugatory and null ²².

When the primate arrived in Italy, towards the end of October, he found the prelates of christendom assembling from various nations, with numerous abbots and the heads of religious orders, and the ambassadors of princes. Among the latter were three envoys from the king of England, the abbot of Beaulieu and two knights. Before

²² Mat. Par.

the solemn opening of the council, many private causes were heard in the presence of the pontiff; and Langton was cited to appear. His accusers were the agents of the king. They accused him of conspiring with the barons, who, advised and favored by him, were in arms to dethrone their prince; and they urged that, though commanded by his holiness, as he had recently been, to check the rebellion by excommunicating its leaders, he had disregarded the injunction, and had therefore been suspended. “And in that state of suspension, here he comes to the general council!” they said, and they pressed many other charges. Langton made no reply, and in much confusion, observes the historian, only prayed to be absolved from the censure. “Nor shall that, by St. Peter, come so easily, brother,” exclaimed the indignant pontiff, “after the manifold injuries which thou hast thus done to thy king and to the Roman church. The advice of my brethren shall be taken.” He conferred with the cardinals, and by their advice confirmed the sentence of suspension, which was immediately notified to the suffragans of his see. — On the same occasion, the election of Simon de Langton, the primate’s brother, to the see of York, was voided, a man obviously obnoxious to the king, but endowed with learning and many virtues. “We

B O O K “ petition then for Walter de Gray, bishop of
VI. Worchester,” said the canons of York, who
1215. were present. “ renowned for his singular
 “ purity. — “ By Saint Peter,” replied Innocent,
 “ that is a great virtue; and you shall have
 “ him.” De Gray was attached to the royal party.
 But though his holiness could admire his virtue,
 he did not escape from Rome, without having
 involved himself in the enormous charge of ten
 thousand pounds sterling, equal, at this time, to
 fifty thousand pounds ²³.

**Fourth coun-
 cil of Lateran.**

The council opened on the eleventh of No-
 vember. Innocent presided, and addressing
 himself to the assembly in a sermon of tasteless
 allegory, professed his willingness, should the
 synod approve it, to go himself to the princes
 of Europe, and rouse them, by his entreaties,
 again to take up arms, and avenge the injured
 honor of Christ. The land, he had purchased
 by his death, was possessed by unbelievers. —
 The decrees of this council are comprised in
 seventy canons, of which the nine first are chiefly
 directed against the errors of the Albigenes; and
 the seventh, teaching “ that the body and blood
 “ of Christ are truly present in the eucharist,
 “ under the forms of bread and wine,” uses the

²³ Mat. Par.

word *Transubstantiation*, to express the sacramental change. The thing signified, but not the mystic word, had been before adopted in the canonical language of the church. I find in writers, who lived anterior to the time. — The synod then proceeds to censure a treatise of the abbot Joachim on the Trinity, the prophet with whom our Richard had been delighted in the island of Sicily; and the opinions of Amauri, a Paris professor. — Then come the decrees against heretics, enacting that they, who are convicted of error, shall be delivered up to the secular power to be punished; that even those suspected of heresy, if they do not clear themselves, shall be excommunicated; that states shall be admonished, and even compelled by censures, to expel all noted heretics from their jurisdiction; that princes or lords, not obeying this admonition, and report being made to the pope, he may declare their vassals absolved from their allegiance, and give up their territories to be conquered and possessed by the orthodox, saving the rights of the suzerain lord, provided he oppose not the execution of the sentence. — The ambassadors of the sovereign princes, let it be observed, who were present in the council, reclaimed not against these indecent and arbitrary statutes. — After some regulations concerning the Greeks,

BOOK who returned to the western communion, and
VI. fixing the precedence of the four eastern patriarchs,
1215. who, at that time, acknowledged the jurisdiction
 of Rome, the council goes on to enact canons
 of general discipline. In them is much good sense;
 but they show how undefined were then the
 limits of the ecclesiastical and civil powers; and
 they became the basis, on which was raised that
 general system of church-legislation, which has
 prevailed to the present day. — After these canons
 follows a particular decree, which fixes the cru-
 sade, and the day of general rendezvous, for the
 year 1217, and in the kingdom of Sicily. —
 The cause of the count of Toulouse was then
 heard, petitioning against the earl of Montfort
 for the restitution of his territories; but the former
 was declared for ever excluded from his lands,
 and the possession of them was confirmed to
 the conqueror. The sentence of excommuni-
 cation was then repeated against the English
 barons and their accomplices, and the council
 ended. It is deemed the twelfth ecumenical
 synod²⁴.

England defo-
 lated by the
 king's forces.

John, on the return of his agents from Rome,
 which was soon after the taking of the castle of Roch-
 ester, heard with pleasure the success of their

²⁴ Auct. varii.

embassy. The barons were excommunicated, the primate suspended, the election of his brother annulled, and Walter de Gray raised to the see of York. He marched his army from Kent to the neighbourhood of St. Alban's. Here, in the convent of the monks, he commanded the letters of suspension against Langton to be publicly read, enjoining them to signify the happy event to all the churches of his realm. Then retiring to the cloister, with his confidential advisers, he arranged the double plan, of annoyance of the barons, and of providing money for the support of his mercenaries. Could the first be well executed, it would itself, he knew, realize the second. It was agreed, therefore, to divide the grand army; and that the king, at the head of one division, should advance into the northern provinces, while the other remained in the vicinity of the capital, to check any attempts of the barons. The nobles of the north had been particularly active in their claims for liberty.

To measure the baleful characters of these two armies, or to exhibit their views, is unnecessary. They were both intent on rapine, both hardened to the cry of distress, both incited to the perpetration of excess, by a cruel and vengeful prince. The name of Salisbury and of other English barons, it gives me pain to see registered

B O O K with those of Falco without bowels, of Mauleon
VI. the bloody, of Walter Buck the murderer, of Sot-
1215. tini the merciless, and of the iron-hearted Gode-
 schal. It was the month of December. The king
 moved to Dunstable, thence to Northampton,
 thence, through Leicester, towards Nottingham;
 and as he advanced, flames, and carnage, and
 devastation marked his progress. The counties
 were a scene of horror; and the inhabitants fled;
 or fell, or were captured, without resistance.
 — Leaving a sufficient force to awe the Lon-
 doners, and the barons who were with them,
 Salisbury entered Essex, ravaging the county, and
 that of Middlesex, and Hertford, and Cam-
 bridge, and Huntingdon; when returning with
 spoils and prisoners, he set fire to the suburbs
 of the capital, and permitted his men to divide
 their plunder, and to relate their feats of blood²³.

The barons, in wild consternation, did not
 move. But strange it is, that, pre-advised as they
 were, and united with the nation in their gen-
 eral views, they had concerted no plan of
 resistance, raised no armies, strengthened no castles.
 The infatuation was incredible. Cooped up within
 the walls of London, or insulted in their castles,
 or at the head of a few retainers in the remote

²³ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

provinces, they heard of the disasters which fell on their friends, and the setting sun of each day announced the nearer approach of ruin on themselves. In unmanly wailings or the composure of affected resignation, they bore their fate, upbraiding their prince with perjury, and the pontiff with the basest sacrifice of character. "Such," they exclaimed, "are the achievements of the beloved son of our holy father!"

Christmas came, whilst John was at Nottingham; nor could that awful solemnity, with its ceremonies and impressive lessons, still the raging tumult of his mind, or call back one generous or gentle feeling. As the piercing blast blew, the tempest of his soul could best sympathize with it; and though the earth was deeply covered with snow, he departed, raging onward, through the northern counties. Every hamlet, which was not his immediate property, he viewed as hostile to his interest; and it felt his fury, as did the castles, the houses, the parks, of their more noble occupiers. The description, which the historian gives, of villages, towns, and castles reduced to ashes, of the consternation of the inhabitants, of the bloody executions, and of the tortures exercised by the soldiery, to draw from the sufferers the revealment of their supposed treasures, far exceeds belief, and

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BOOK seems rather the labored offspring of an irritated imagination. He passed the Scottish borders; **VI.** and then returned more by the western line, **1216.** every where rewarding his soldiers with plunder, and presenting his generals with the castles and domains of the vanquished and flying nobles. — Where the king was not, the like scenes were perpetrated; and the contest seemed to be, who should injure the wretched people most, and spread the flames of desolation widest²⁶.

The barons
excommunicated
by name.

Nor had the inflexible Innocent receded from his purpose. Hearing that the barons disregarded his sentence, though the same messenger, doubtless, carried the news of the savage vengeance of the king and the miseries of the people, he directed another brief to the abbot of Abingdon and two other ecclesiastics in which he repeats the former sentence, and commands them again to announce it to the nation. He names the citizens of London, who had been principally active, and Robert Fitzwalter, the general of the confederacy, and twenty-five barons, with their aiders and accomplices. — The agents receiving the mandate did not delay its execution, and addressed letters to all the churches of the realm. They repeated the

²⁶ Mat. Par. an. 1216. Chron. de Mailros.

words of the brief, adding the names of thirty other noblemen, on whom should fall the papal anathema, and on their lands an interdict. The sentence, therefore, was soon promulgated, and there appeared a general disposition to submit. Only the Londoners had the good sense to oppose the arbitrary measure; and they maintained that, neither ought the barons to observe, nor the prelates to publish, a censure so incongruous. "It was obtained," they insisted, "by false suggestions, and was consequently null; from this reason principally, that it belongs not to the pope to interfere in state-concerns. God gave to Peter and his successors the administration only of the church. Why then shall Roman ambition extend itself to us? Does the war in which we are engaged, challenge their concern? These pontiffs, truly, are the successors of Constantine, and not of Peter, to whom, nor in deserts nor actions, do they bear resemblance. And the world then shall be ruled by censures!" So, with a just discrimination, they murmured; and in despite of the interdict, the bells rang through the city, and the churches resounded with songs of unusual festivity²⁷.

²⁷ Mat. Par.

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Prince Louis
is invited over.

But the barons, whom a timely sense of impending ruin had not roused from their supineness; now beheld the desperate extremity, in which must soon be involved all their liberties, their properties, and perhaps their lives. The sentence just pronounced must sever from them, they saw, the few vassals, who could yet support their expiring interest; while the royal party, it was evident, acquired, by their impetuous movements, an increasing power to complete the desolating plan they had projected. The kingdom lay at their mercy. Anxious what measure to adopt, they proposed many. They hesitated, debated, and finally resolved to implore the aid of Louis, the eldest son of the French king. To him they would offer the crown of England: for he could best protect them against the fury of the tyrant John; and he was allied by his wife, the daughter of the queen of Castille, to the royal house of Plantagenet. Should he land amongst them, it would be a means also, they doubted not, of drawing from the king's standard many of the mercenary bands, who being levied in Flanders or the provinces of France, would refuse to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Deprived of auxiliaries, whose arms they had so fatally experienced, their own prince, they flattered themselves, would be induced to listen to

reason, should it be deemed expedient by the nation not finally to confirm the sceptre to Louis, which it was their present design to offer to him. In the main plan they all agreed: and Saher earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitzwalter were appointed to the great embassy. They bore letters with them, signed with all the names of the confederated nobles²².

With hasty dispatch, the negociators crossed the sea, and appearing in the French court, laid before Philip and the prince, the weighty object of their embassy. The monarch heard their proposals; read the letters they presented; and after mature reflection, replied with this cool reserve: "I cannot permit my son to go, unless, " for greater security, at least four-and-twenty " hostages be sent to me, from the noblest families of your realm."—The ambassadors did not oppose the cautious resolution; and immediate notice being sent to the barons, they consented, and commanded their hostages to sail. Their arrival in France gave confidence to the measure, and Compiègne being assigned for their place of residence, Louis, with an alacrity inspired by the great occasion, opened his preparations. He was in his nine-and-twentieth year, and had lately

²² Mat. Par. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

BOOK VI. 1215. returned from an expedition of forty days, against the heretics of the south. But as the present undertaking demanded many previous arrangements, which precipitancy might frustrate, he deemed it expedient to send before him a reinforcement of men, whose presence might animate the confederates, and fix their resolution. At their head were ten experienced chieftains. They embarked, and entering the Thames, were received into London by the barons, towards the close of February.

The agents of Innocent were not insensible to the insulting measure. Again they repeated their anathemas, and by name, involved in the censure the French troops, who, in contempt of the papal injunction, had dared to succour the enemies of the king. — But soon also letters came from the prince, addressed to the barons and the citizens of London. In them he assures his friends, that, when easter comes, they shall hear of him from Calais, ready to sail to their relief. He exhorts them to persevere with the firmness, they had till now exhibited, and requests that they will listen to what they may hear from him, and not to the representations or vain rumors of designing men.

But though the weightiest concerns, which could occupy man, now called for immediate

attention, the barons would not forego the occasion, of appearing before their new friends, with the gallant pageantry of the age. They appointed a tournament, without the walls of London. Here they met on horseback, with the accustomed arms and armour, and having spent some hours in the martial exercise, Geoffry de Mandeville, earl of Essex, was mortally wounded by a French knight. His death, which soon followed, was much lamented; but it did not excite animosity, and with his expiring breath he forgave his antagonist²⁹.

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The preparations of the French prince were in forwardness, when a legate from Rome arrived at Lions, in which city the court was. He presented his letters, and in his master's name, entreated Philip not to permit his son to invade England, or in any thing to molest its sovereign: "Protect him rather," he continued, "as the vassal of the Roman church, defend him, and love him; for his realm appertains to our sovereign lord." — "That realm," replied the monarch indignantly, "was never the patrimony of Peter; nor ever shall be. The present occupier of the throne, John, many years ago, plotting against his brother's crown, was accused of

A Roman legate obstructs his design.

²⁹ Mat. Par.

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“ treason, and convicted : therefore , he had no
 “ right to reign. Had it been otherwise ; he
 “ afterwards forfeited his crown , by the murder
 “ of Arthur , of which crime he was found guilty
 “ in my court. Moreover , where is the prince
 “ that can give away his realm , without the
 “ consent of his barons , whose duty it is to
 “ protect the state ? And if the pontiff has resolved
 “ to support this error , he holds out a pernicious
 “ example to all the nations of the earth.”
 — “ We will die in defence of that maxim ,”
 exclaimed with one voice the nobles of the court ;
 “ that no potentate , by his own act , can give
 “ away a kingdom , or make it tributary to
 “ another , and thus enslave its nobles”.

On the following day , was another meeting ,
 to which the prince came ; and with a lowering
 eye having viewed the legate , he took his seat
 near his father. Gallo (that was the legate’s name)
 first addressed the prince , earnestly begging him
 not to attack the patrimony of the church ; and
 then turning to Philip , he repeated the request of
 the preceding day. — “ Hitherto ,” replied the
 king , “ faithful as I have been to the pontiff
 “ and the Roman church , I have ever promoted

“ Mat. Par.

“ his interest. Nor now, with my advice or
“ aid, shall my son attempt any thing against
“ either. But if he claims any right to the realm
“ of England, let that claim be heard, and
“ justice be awarded to him.” On this a knight,
whom Louis had charged with the commission,
rose, and spoke. — He observed that John, for
the assassination of his nephew, had been sentenced
to death, by his peers in the French court;
and that the barons of England, on account of
his multiplied crimes, had deemed him unworthy
of the throne; and had levied war against him:
that having subjected his kingdom to Rome,
under an annual tribute, without the consent of
his nobles, he had deposed himself: he ceased,
therefore, to be king, and the throne was vacant.
Then did the barons, he continued, exercise
their right. They elected the son of our king, in
right of his wife, whose mother, the queen of
Castille, alone survives of all the female issue of
the late Henry Plantagenet.

Confounded by the bold misstatement of facts
and the hollow reasoning, the legate urged; that
John, at least, had taken the holy cross, and
therefore, as the great council had lately decreed,
he was not to be molested, during the space of
four years; and that all his possessions were with-
in the protection of the apostolic see. — The

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knight answered: That, before that event, the English king had made war on the prince, and invaded and spoiled his domain in Flanders; and that even now he was in arms against him. — “Under pain of excommunication,” exclaimed the legate, when he saw that argument would not silence the wordy orator, “I forbid the prince to enter England, and his royal father to permit it.” — The prince turned to his father: “For the possessions, Sir,” said he, “which I have received from your hand, I acknowledge myself your liege vassal: but the realm of England is not one of them, and I challenge the judgment of my peers, whether it appertains to you to obstruct the prosecution of my right, when it is not within the competence of your majesty to do me justice. Oppose not my design; for, shall it appear necessary, I will support to death my wife’s claim to her inheritance.” So saying, the prince, with his followers, withdrew; and Gallo, meaning to embark for England, requested a safe-conduct to the sea-side. “Through my own territory,” replied Philip, “you shall have it: but take care how you set your foot on my son’s lands.” The legate retired in anger³¹.

³¹ Mat. Par.

In a few days, the prince again waited on his father: "I have solemnly promised the English barons," said he to him, "to carry them assistance; and rather than forfeit my honor, I am disposed to undergo the censures of the pontiff." Philip could no longer withstand the just entreaty. He consented; but in a manner that might seem reluctant; and blessed his son. The fear of the indignation of Rome had awed the high spirit of the monarch; and even Louis deemed it prudent, notwithstanding the firm language he had held, to dispatch messengers to Innocent, who should lay before him the equity of his claim to the English throne. Then at the head of an army, numerous and well-appointed, he marched to Calais, and embarking on board six hundred ships and fourscore other vessels, which the monk Eustach had prepared, he came to land in the isle of Thanet, on the twenty-first of May.

John, with all his forces, was at Dover. But he dared not meet the invader, conscious of the uncertain attachment of his mercenary bands: he retired, therefore, by precipitate marches, first to Guildford, and then to Winchester. The prince proceeded to Sandwich, and the whole province, as he advanced towards London, with the castle of Rochester, submitted to him. Only Dover, which he left behind him, remained in

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The prince
lands.

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the hands of Hubert de Burgh. The acclamations, with which he entered the capital, were unbounded, the citizens and barons vying in their expressions of joy. Here he received their homage, and the allegiance which they swore to him; while himself, with his hand on the gospels, at the same time, also swore, to restore to all orders their good laws, and to each individual the possessions he had lost. — It is remarkable, that the barons should have been satisfied with the vague expression of *good laws*, and that their *Great Charter* was not mentioned. — Louis then published a manifesto, addressed to the king of Scotland, and the absent nobles, commanding them immediately to swear fealty to him, or to retire from the realm; and he marched his army into the neighbouring counties, which submitted. The manifesto had the wished-for effect; for many (among whom was the earl of Salisbury, who had joined the king in his late excesses,) now left him, under the immediate impression, that fortune had chosen a new favorite, and that already he was in possession of the throne³².

His next step was, to appoint Simon Langton his chancellor, whose influence became highly serviceable to his cause; for he confirmed the

³² Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

Londoners

Londoners and the barons in their contemptuous neglect of the interdict, and persuaded Louis himself, a prince of a religious character, that it merited no respect. — The opening of this great revolution was uncommonly auspicious: but it must have seemed somewhat singular, considering the imposing consequence which has been ascribed to the ceremony, that the prince was not crowned, while the tide of popular favor ran so high. — The primate, whilst his brother thus came forward on the scene, continued at Rome, released, indeed, from the sentence of suspension, on condition that he returned not to England, till its troubles should be ended³³.

But the legate was not idle. He came to England soon after the prince, and immediately repairing to Gloucester, whither John had now retired, he offered him his warmest support, against the successful progress of the enemy. The monarch was over-joyed, presuming, from passed experience, that the arms of Rome could give vigor to his cause. Gallo summoned all the prelates and clergy, who would obey the mandate, to meet him; and having excommunicated, by name, with the usual rites of terror, the French prince and

³³ Mat. Par.

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all his adherents, at the head of whom he placed Simon de Langton, he commanded them, on every sabbath and festival-day, publicly to repeat the sentence. But when the menaces of power and its exertions, have once ceased to operate on the minds of the multitude, it is long before they again recover their wonted vigor. The anathemas of the pontiff, therefore, fell in vain; and de Langton publicly declared that, in the cause of the prince, an appeal had been made to Rome, and that the acts of her agents were an impotent abuse. Even a more ominous circumstance confounded the wavering counsels of John. The mercenaries, as had been hoped, insensibly quitted his standard, the troops from Aquitaine alone remaining faithful, and of these even some joined the prince, and others returned home. — Nor was it long before all the southern provinces submitted to Louis. The castles only of Windsor and Dover, lowering defiance, showed a disposition to resist; and the king gave orders to furnish the eastern castles with men, arms, and provisions²⁴.

His cause is
agitated at
Rome.

Meanwhile, the cause of Louis was agitated in the Roman court. His agents presented themselves before the pontiff, who eyed them with an

²⁴ Mat. Par.

austere look, and saluted him in their master's name. "Your master," he replied, "deserves not my salutation." — "Your holiness," answered one of the agents, "would think otherwise, were his cause fully expounded." Here ended the first day's interview. But when, a second time, they were sent for, and had opened their commission; Innocent, at large, entered on the question, and with the acuteness of a profound civilian, the science he eminently possessed, refuted their various arguments. Then striking his breast, with much agitation, he proceeded: "But the church, alas! cannot here escape confusion. If the English king falls, who is our vassal, and whom, as such, it is our duty to defend, shame must redound on us: and if the prince be conquered, which God forbid! the Roman church must suffer in his ruin; for to him we have looked as to a certain refuge, whenever distresses shall fall on our see." — The conference here ended, and the agents waited the final decision of the controversy.

It is not necessary to detail the arguments, which were urged on both sides, and which the historian has minutely stated. They are comprised in three leading propositions, the heads of which I have already mentioned. — The first charge is; That John had murdered

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his nephew Arthur, for which crime he had been condemned to death, the agents said, by his peers in the French court. — It was replied, that John was a king, and, as such, being superior to the barons, he was not their peer; besides, that it was contrary to the laws and the canons to condemn any person, unheard and unconvicted. — The agents observed that, though a king, John was an earl and duke, and therefore the liege vassal, under this denomination, of Philip, whose jurisdiction over him was complete. Even had he not been his vassal, and such a crime had been committed in France, the laws of the realm subjected the offender to the judgment of his peers. — Many princes and even kings of France, it was said in reply, had taken away the lives of innocent men, yet had they not been sentenced to death. But Arthur was not innocent; he was taken in arms against his uncle and liege sovereign, and could therefore lawfully, even without judgment, have been condemned to die.

Secondly: — To the argument in favor of the claim of Louis, as husband to Blanche of Castille, it was said, that, granting John, by the sentence of the French nobles, had been legally disinherited, that not she, but the offspring of the elder children of Henry, that is, the sister of Arthur,

or the emperor Otho; had a juster claim to the English throne. Blanche even had a brother, the present king of Castille.—The agents answered, that as Geoffry, duke of Bretagne was dead, as also the duchess of Saxony, when the sentence was pronounced on John, their issue could pretend no claim to a succession, that otherwise might have devolved on them. This, they insisted, was a received maxim. But the queen of Castille was then living, to whom the legal succession first belonged, and on her death, it descended to her daughter Blanche. It is true, they proceeded, that Blanche has a brother, and even an elder sister; but where there are many heirs, any one of them may seize the inheritance, saving the rights of the other claimants. The prince has entered England; but if a nearer heir to the throne challenges his right, justice will be done to him.

Thirdly:—It was objected to the prince, that England belonged to the holy see, by reason of the oath of fealty taken to the pontiff, and of the tribute annually paid; war therefore was not to be made on the sovereign rights of him, who had been guilty of no crime, and particularly as John possessed other dominions, which Louis might have attacked; complaints rather should have been preferred against the vassal, in the court of his

BOOK VI. 1216. sovereign lord. — Hostilities, they replied, had been commenced, before that transfer of the kingdom; and it is a maxim, that the vassal, who provokes a quarrel, may be attacked in person, without the ceremony of a previous complaint. But if the lord will protect his vassal, he makes the war his own. — As to the decree of the council, ordaining a general truce for four years, and the circumstance of John's having taken the cross, it was likewise insisted, that hostilities had preceded those events, to which the king had pertinaciously adhered. — But the barons, it was objected, and their abettors, had been excommunicated even by the advice of the council, and the prince, therefore, was involved in the sentence. — “Our prince,” replied the agents, “does not aid the barons, nor is he their abettor: he prosecutes his right. He does not, nor ought he to believe, that the pontiff, or so great a synod, would pronounce an unjust sentence. At that time, it was not known, that he claimed, as his right, the English throne. And had it been known, the prince presumes, that the council could not annul his right.”

Thus was a question debated, which throws some light on the manners and feudal laws of the age; when the pontiff, in the plenitude of his jurisdiction, pronounced, that the controversy

should not be decided, before the return of his BOOK VI.
legate³⁵.

But Louis, (to whom the call of the barons, 1216.
to rescue their country from the oppression of He pursues
his conquests
and lays siege
to the castles
of Dover and
Windsor.
a tyrant, gave a better title, than what a pre-
tended hereditary right, or the approbation of
Rome could confer,) in the mean time, neglect-
ed not the obvious means of conquest. He
spoiled the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and
Norfolk, and reduced them to his obedience;
while that of Lincoln also submitted; and in the
north, his adherents subdued Yorkshire, and the
Scottish king, Northumberland.—The experienced
Philip, notwithstanding this success which at-
tended his son's arms, heaved, with regret, that
he had left behind him the castles of Dover and
Windsor, on the reduction of which, he knew,
more must depend, than on the easy subjugation
of many provinces. He acquainted him therefore,
that the castles must be reduced, alledging, that
the first rules of war required it. Louis, obedient
to his instruction, having sent to him for *malveisine*,
a huge engine to throw stones, at the head of a
great army, surrounded the castle of Dover. This
was in the month of August. Hubert de Burgh,
it has been said, commanded there, and he

³⁵ Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216. was well supported by a band of knights and their retainers. The utmost efforts of the enemy made no impression: on the contrary, their tents, their machines, and their men were destroyed by furious and repeated sallies. Hopeless of immediate success, the prince withdrew his army to a greater distance; and continuing the blockade he swore not to raise the siege, till famine had reduced the proud walls, when the whole garrison, he threatened, should be hanged up in his presence. — At the same time, the barons with an army marched into the eastern counties, which having desolated, they returned to London, and collecting a great force, proceeded against the castle of Windsor. Ingelard de Achie, an approved foldier, was the governor. Alike to that of Dover, was the bold resistance of this castle; nor were the besiegers more successful¹⁶.

John takes
the field.

John, who till now had not ventured to take the field, seeing that the enemy was engaged, issued, with resistless rage, from the city of Winchester. Some troops, from other castles, had joined him; and many desperate men still adhered to his cause. What the utmost fury with fire and sword could perpetrate, that was done. The houses and lands of the neighbouring barons

¹⁶ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

first suffered; and he proceeded, like a blasting tempest, and entered the eastern counties.—With dismay did the barons, round Windsor, hear the report of this exterminating havoc, and assembling, they resolved to raise the siege, and to impede, if possible, the tyrant's return to the south. The historian talks of treachery, inspired by royal bribes, which prompted this design. The king was in Suffolk, wasting all its maritime district, and intent on spoil, when he heard that the Windsor-army was in motion. They left their tents, and moved rapidly towards the side of Cambridge. But John by his spies, knew their line of march; and while they imagined, the game could not escape their toils, he had wheeled round, and gained the town of Stamford. He advanced still northward; and forcing the enemy from Lincoln, entered its castle, the confederates every where flying, with the timidity of hares, from his impetuous approach. The barons, thus illuded, wreaked their vengeance on the innocuous people, and returning with spoil, passed through the capital, and joined the prince's army near the walls of Dover. To this place also came Alexander, the Scottish king, and did homage in the hands of Louis, for the fiefs he held under the crown of England³⁷.

³⁷ Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

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Perplexity of
the barons.

Such was the position of things and their dubious aspect, when an event happened, or was said to happen, which cast a gloom over the counsels of the allies, and generating mutual distrust, served to confirm the lightest suspicions, which, till now, either ill-humor, or the necessary character of events, had formed. The viscount de Melun, a nobleman who had come with the prince, being seized by a mortal distemper in London, requested, that such of the English barons, as remained there for the defence of the city, might be sent for. They came. With a dying voice he then addressed them. "The desolation and ruin, which hang over you, give me pain," he said; "and you know not what the danger is. The prince, and sixteen nobles of his army, have bound themselves by oath, shall the realm be conquered and he be crowned its king, to banish for ever those, who have joined his standard, as traitors to their sovereign. Their whole offspring shall be exterminated. Doubt not my words; for I, who here lie gasping before you, am one of the conspirators. I entreat you, therefore, to provide, in future, for your own safety, and not to reveal what you have heard." So saying he expired.³⁸

³⁸ Mat. Par. Chron. Wal. Heming.

That so foul a design should have been formed, in this early stage of the revolution, and in the presence of sixteen witnesses, exceeds all belief. But though the tale was obviously invented, it was not less successful: the secret whisper passed, and the minds of the barons received its baleful impression. The prince already had bestowed lands and castles on his foreigners, and themselves had murmured at the partial distribution in vain. His views they could now see through; and the plot of destruction began to open. Even he had called them traitors, (so said the dying viscount,) when they were bleeding in his cause. — Thus they reasoned, actuated by suspicious and loose surmises, while the most trivial events, on which jealousy could fasten, did but confirm the evil, and spread it more. The destruction also of their lands and houses; the dispersion and misery of their families; the further ruin, which might fall on them, from their enraged, and yet unconquered, sovereign; the sentence of excommunication which pressed on their souls, and that of interdict on their vassals and possessions; all, at once, conspired to thicken the gloom, and to perplex their wayward counsels. It was the wish of some, to return to their allegiance; others, in dubious anxiety, suspended all resolution; while many seemed disposed, patiently to wait the uncertain

B O O K issue of events. But all knew the cruel and revenge-
VI. ful temper of the king, whom none might ven-
1216. ture to trust, and whose indignation, now justly
 moved, could almost be vindicated in its worst
 excesses.

**The king falls
 sick, and dies.**

Agitated by passion, restless through fear, and
 suspicious even of those, whom he called his
 friends, John mean-while, had moved from
 place to place. He had been on the Welsh bor-
 ders, wasting, as he went, the whole face of the
 land and the dwellings of the nobles; and now
 again he turned eastward, through the counties
 of Worcester and Northampton. He was surround-
 ed by his mercenaries and other troops, an army
 bent on blood and rapine; and he carried with
 him, in many carts and on horses, his treasures,
 all his valuable plate, and the regal ornaments,
 on which, with the propensities of a little mind,
 his affections seemed to rest. Whether it was his
 intention to lodge these in a place of safety, does
 not appear. Through Peterborough he entered
 the district of Croyland, famous for its monastery,
 which he plundered, and having burned the
 stacks of corn, and ravaged the lands of the abbey,
 he continued his course through Holland into
 Norfolk. The inhabitants of Lynn received him
 with much loyalty; and here he formed the design
 of crossing the Wash, which parts the two counties,

and of penetrating more to the north of Lincolnshire. When the water ebbs, this estuary is passable. With his army and rich baggage, John began his march over the sands; and he had nearly reached the opposite point, when the returning tide began to roar, and its swelling waves to press forward on the land. It was a moment of extreme peril. The army, with great rapidity, advanced, and escaped on the side of Fossdike; but turning, they beheld the carriages and sumpter-horses overtaken by the waters. The surge dashed furiously on them; and soon they disappeared.—In silence, which oaths and execrations only interrupted, the troops, with their king, proceeded, and arrived, on the same night, at the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead³⁹.

Vexation at a loss, which in the present circumstances was irretrievable, and the boisterous agitation of contending passions, which reason nor religion had ever checked, now produced in the king the alarming symptoms of disorder; and a fever ensued. Yet prompted by hunger, or rather by a gluttonous habit, he ate voraciously of some peaches, which the hospitable monks served up, and drank new cider as immoderately.

³⁹ Mat. Par. Mat. West.

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The intemperate excess added to the growing evil. In reposeless horror the night passed: but, early on the morrow, he rose, and mounting his horse, seemed willing to conceal from observation the pain he suffered, or by exercise to disperse it. Soon, however, he was compelled to dismount; when entering a litter, he was carried to the castle of Sleaford: and though his disorder, in the night he spent here, was much increased, he proceeded the next day, and with difficulty reached the town of Newark. Here was his life to close.

To make some preparation, if it might be permitted, for eternity, and to settle the succession of his crown, became his only care. The abbot of Croxton, a neighbouring convent, a man well skilled in medicine, and who attended the dying monarch, officiated also, as the minister of religion, in the last sad scenes of remorse and penitence. To his house he left some valuable estates, vainly confiding, that the opulent donation would serve to atone for a life of crimes. He then named his eldest son Henry, his successor, and begged that homage might be done to him. Letters also, under his seal, were directed to all the sheriffs of counties and the governors of castles, commanding them to bear in mind the duty, which they owed to the prince. Now he was informed, that messengers were arrived from some of the

barons, about forty in number, with propofals of returning to their allegiance. The momentary gleam cheered his foul: but all his strength was fpent, and attention languifhed. “Where,” faid the abbot of Croxton, “does your majesty chufe “to be buried?” — “To God,” replied the king, “and to St. Wulfstan, I commend my “foul and body.” — Soon after this he expired⁴⁰.

On the eighteenth of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the feventeenth of his reign, thus died John, the worft of Englifh kings. His body, agreeably to his laft request, was conveyed to Worcester, and there interred. St. Wulfstan was the patron-faint of the cathedral. — By Ifabella of Angouleme, his laft queen, he left two fons and three daughters. Of virtues John poffeffed not the weakeft femblance; and all his vices were fuch, as moft vilify and degrade the nature of man, in their immediate effects ruinous to himfelf, and destructive to his people. A tranfient review of the events, I have defcribed, will fufficiently juftify the general affertion, and prove the judgement of the old hiftorian⁴¹ to have been led by no undue bias, when he heaped infamy on his name. I fhall dwell no longer on it.

⁴⁰ Mat. Par. Ma. Weft.

⁴¹ Mat. Par.

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General view.

At the time this inglorious monarch died, some changes, which I have not noticed, had taken place on the continent. Rome had a new sovereign. Engaged as he had ever been in politics, Innocent pursued unremittingly his favorite scheme, of carrying aid to the eastern christians. The unsettled state of Germany impeded his design, and the ambitious views of Philip. He labored to establish a general peace. But when he heard, notwithstanding his remonstrances, that the French prince did not desist from his undertaking, his zeal kindled, and preaching before the people at Perugia, from the text of Ezechiel, *Let the sword, the sword, be unsheathed*, he fulminated anathemas against Louis and his abettors. Nor did his indignation rest here. He prepared to pursue the severest measures, against Philip and his realm. But a fever surprised him in his career of vengeance. His constitution, which incessant labor and the agitation of great passions had undermined, sank before it, and he died on the sixteenth of July ⁴².

Innocent had virtues. He was learned, magnificent, perseverant, wise. In the knowledge of laws and politics he had no equal: he possessed the art of government; and he was obeyed, more from

⁴² Rigord. Murat. an. 1216.

fear than love. Ambition was his ruling passion, to gratify which, he overstepped the bounds of decency and justice, playing as wantonly with the solemn censures of the church, as if they had been instituted, for the common purposes of wayward caprice or resentful vengeance. To look into him for the amiable virtues of life, or for those, which should form the pastoral character, would be loss of time. The prerogative of the holy see, built up by adulation and misjudging zeal filled his mind: its aggrandizement he sought, sometimes, perhaps, from motives which the cool reasoner may excuse: and the meteor of universal empire gleaming on his senses, did not permit the operations of a dispassionate and unbiassed judgment. No tears were shed when Innocent fell, but those which religion wept, too justly pained by the inordinate exertions and worldly views of her first minister. The maxims of the age, however, must not be forgotten. They will throw some veil over the failings of Innocent; will extenuate the intemperance of his measures; and blunt the edge of censure. He was succeeded by Honorius III.

In Germany, the fortune of young Frederic kept the ascendancy it had acquired, advancing by sure steps to the meridian of greatness. As he owed much to the fostering care and superior influence

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of his guardian, the Roman bishop, it might be expected, that a grateful return would be demanded from him. It was demanded; and promises and engagements were liberally made. But Innocent still held back the imperial crown. His fear was, as I have observed, that Sicily and the empire should be held by the same person. To lull these suspicious apprehensions, Frederic now took the cross; and proclaiming his son Henry king of Sicily, he assured the pontiff that its government, with the ancient dependences of feudal vassalage on the Roman see, should be conferred on him, the moment himself obtained the imperial diadem. Otho was still living in the retirement of Brunswick; and it was well known, that the arm, which had cast him from his throne, could, with ease, again call round him all the dangerous powers of a rival. This Frederic knew, and it disposed him to manage, by concessions and an apparent subserviency, the irritable and vindictive temper of Innocent. His timely removal made way for other politics and other plans. Rome, in the person of Frederic, had nurtured a prince, who, when time should develop his character, would exhibit, in her regard, those stern features of independent sufficiency, which his grandfather Barbarossa bore⁴³.

⁴³ Murat. Pfeffel. Chron. Ursperg.

The Italian states maintained their liberty: but the dissensions, which jealousy created and kept alive, had a permanent tendency to weaken the confederacy, and to make them a prey to internal strife, provoking foreign invasion. The Milanese had not yet forsaken the fallen cause of Otho. But it was the faction of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, daily gaining strength from fresh irritation, that prepared the way for dreadful evils⁴⁴.

The state of France it is unnecessary to exhibit. Having annexed to his crown the noble provinces, which once were England's, and Artois on the side of Flanders, Philip Augustus, in the plenitude of years and power, looked eagerly to the conquest of another empire. But they were the menaces of Rome, it appears, which checked even the ambition of Philip; otherwise his reluctant compliance with the wishes of the English barons, and the feeble support he gave to his son, will not be reconciled with his character and the general policy of his government. Had he exerted the resources of his nation, to which, from foreign enemies or internal commotions, there was no impediment, it cannot be doubted, but complete success would have crowned his arms, and England, for a time at least, had been a province of France. The power of

⁴⁴ Murat.

B O O K the pontiff averted the blow; while the chains of
VI. vassalage, in which he held us, were but a nomi-
1216. nal evil we could cast off at pleasure. That Philip
 should have left unconquered the extensive pro-
 vince of Aquitaine, may to some appear extraor-
 dinary. It was owing, I think, to the dispositions
 of the nobles of the country, who then were,
 and continued long to be, averse from the govern-
 ment of the French crown. But it is wonderful
 with what alacrity, Normandy, in particular,
 embraced the sovereignty of the victor⁴⁵.

Ireland, at this time, though John, as has
 been noticed, had, in his last expedition, estab-
 lished a form of legal government, was returned to
 anarchy and disorders, the obvious consequences
 of the temper of the natives, and the oppressive
 views of the new settlers. When the Great
 Charter was obtained from the king, no requisitions
 were made in behalf of Ireland: yet the
 archbishop of Dublin was present, and his name
 is recorded in the preamble to the deed. As
 yet no advantage had been derived to that nation,
 to counterbalance the loss of independence, from
 the superior character and constitution, as even
 then they were esteemed, of their ambitious and
 haughty conquerors.

⁴⁵ Hist. var.

In Scotland, Alexander II. a youth of sixteen years, but blessed with great abilities and uncommon prudence, had succeeded to his father, William the Lion, whose name has been so often mentioned. He sided with the English nobles, and did homage to the French prince, not for the kingdom of Scotland, which, by the wanton concessions of Richard, had recovered its independence, but for Northumberland, which he held under the English crown.

On Wales our historians are silent. Its princes had long enjoyed an honorable dependence; and as peace dwelt on her borders, while England felt the horrors of intestine war, the hardy race lay secure on their mountains, and listened to the songs of their bards.

England, of all the states I have enumerated, saw before her the most uncertain and gloomy prospect. The Charter of Liberties, to obtain which she had nobly struggled, as yet was without effect; and did she know, what scheme of councils or series of events, would best secure its execution? Perhaps the same steps, which, with irksome toil, she had trodden, must again be measured. A foreign prince, with a powerful army, she had called into her bowels; while that prince's father, the greatest monarch of the age, was at hand with all the resources of his realm. Should

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the nation, which, in the obvious course of things, must be, submit to their control; where then would be her rights and liberties, under the resistless claim of conquest? Her late king had left an infant son. If she carried her allegiance to him; could he protect her? Or would it be politic to acknowledge him for her sovereign, in whose veins was the blood of a tyrant; and who, when years should give him strength, would be most inclined to retaliate on her, the usage his parent had experienced? So lowered the scene before the barons and the English people.

Conclusion.

I have finished the period of sixty-two years, which measured the reigns of Henry II. and of Richard and John, his sons, a term, in the retrospective view, of short duration, but filled with events, and marked by characters. — In Henry we beheld a prince of great and splendid talents, early tutored in the school of adverse fortune, and raised, by his own prowess, to a mighty empire. The outset of his reign was prosperous; but an unfortunate contest with the church ensued, in which no glory could be gained, and which brought to nearer view a degrading series of affections and conduct, which, in other circumstances, might never have been exhibited. The close of it, we saw, was most unhappy; and it raised the indignation of christendom. But the submission of

Ireland relieved the gloomy aspect, which the rebellion of his sons again obscured; and in various occurrences, which too often tended to diminish the lustre of his early days, the eventful period of Henry's reign hastened to its melancholy issue. Within himself, it seemed, lay the source of every evil. For a more guarded temper would have reconciled him to the church, at that time, too dangerous a power to contend with; and more attention to Eleanor, his queen, would have chained her ardent spirit, and have secured the obedience, at least, of his children. — The men, who served near his person, or whom he employed in the concerns of state, were eminent, and well chosen. I brought them into view. Becket, of all others, from a certain similarity of character, was best qualified to have possessed his confidence; and together they had been an overmatch for secret machinations, or the bold designs of public enemies. But the very circumstance of similarity of dispositions was the cause of their disunion, and led to contests. The possession of a friend has seldom fallen to the lot of princes. — The concomitant characters of Henry's reign were, in France, Louis, weak, honest, and brave; in Germany, Frederic, bold, imperious, and enterprising; in Italy, Alexander, whose virtues

BOOK and unambitious views, in a better age, had
VI. dignified the tiara. And round these princes
1216. we saw collected many distinguished personages;
 and the events of their days were striking, in the
 exile of the Roman pontiff, in the successful
 struggles of the Lombards, and in the prepara-
 tions for the third crusade.

The reign of Richard, opening with impro-
 vident and arbitrary measures, and throughout
 disfigured by discontents at home, and abroad
 by a lavish waste of men and treasure in [the
 wild wars of Palestine, had nothing to engage
 the attention of the philosophic historian. Only that
 the errors of the human mind, if duly contem-
 plated, may become a source of as much in-
 struction, as its most steady adhesions to truth
 and equity. We pitied him in his captivity;
 but the heavy charge, which fell on an exhaust-
 ed people, to ransom the worthless prisoner,
 soon stifled that pleasing emotion; and no event
 succeeded to prepare the mind for compassion,
 when his untimely death came on. — His ministers
 and the great personages of the realm deserved
 little praise. The truth, however, is, that the
 writers of the times were so engaged in relating the
 feats of their king, and the achievements of a
 ruinous expedition, that domestic characters and
 the events of peace were lost in the turbid

stream, and died away unrecorded. — But, in France, for some years, we had beheld the growing greatness of Philip Augustus; while, by the side of Richard, whether in his own territories, or at Messina, or in Palestine, his temperate, but manly character, commanded our admiration, and defied competition. — Frederic had perished in the Salef: the Norman line of kings was at an end on the throne of Sicily: and at Rome, after a succession of five less illustrious bishops, from the death of Alexander, was seated Innocent III.

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The conduct and character of John, and the events of his reign, are recent on the memory. We saw its inauspicious opening, his weak treaty with France, his ungenerous marriage of Isabella, and his vain and oppressive progress through the provinces of England. The barons showed their discontent, when he passed into Poitou, took Arthur prisoner; and we heard the rumors which followed his death, and which was succeeded by the loss of Normandy and other possessions. Stephen Langton came forward on the scene, which gave rise to altercations between John and the pontiff. The kingdom fell under an interdict, and the rage of the king broke loose. Then opened the important contest, which, after various occurrences, led to the submission of John to the mandates of Rome, and which produced

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the meeting of the barons, and their confederacy. We beheld them at St. Edmundsbury, after the taking off of the interdict, and their successive proceedings, till they met on Runnemede. **MAGNA CHARTA.** The dark vengeance of John followed, and the preparations for war. The barons were excommunicated, the country laid waste, prince Louis invited over, landed in spite of the pontiff's injunctions, and while he besieged the castles of Windsor and Dover, John took the field, and as a gloom spread round the general aspect of things, he died. — The underactors, who chiefly claimed attention, were Stephen Langton, and the Roman Panduphus, and the barons pressing forward, with a restless ardor, to the new dawn of liberty. In France, Philip had still kept the ascendant, rather he had risen higher, in competition with our inglorious monarch, and had added territories to his crown. — The brave Otho had fallen from the German throne; while from Sicily came another Frederic, who would eclipse the fame of his grandfather Barbarossa. — In the chair of the humble fisherman, was seen Innocent!

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

A P P E N D I X I.

On the MANNERS, ARTS, and LEARNING of the PERIOD.

Manners of the English and Normans at the conquest. — Progressive change. — Chivalry. — Amusements. — Dress. — Agriculture. — Architecture. — Arms and armour. — Arts of clothing. — Sculpture. — Painting. — Poetry. — Music. — Trade. — Value of money. — Intercourse with France. — General influence of Rome. — Monastic institutions — Francis of Assisium. — Dominic. — Crusades. — Learning. — Grammar. — Rhetoric. — Logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics. — Scholastic divinity. — Canon and civil law. — Oxford. — Cambridge. — Cathedral and other schools. — Paris and Bologna. — General view of learned men. — The Polycraticon. — Conclusion.

THE monk of Malmſbury has told us, what Manners of the English and Normans at the conquest. were the characters of the English and Norman people, when the island, in 1066, submitted to

the conqueror.—But a few years, he observes, before that event, the study of literature and of religion had decayed. The clergy could hardly stammer through the necessary service of the church; and he who knew the rules of grammar, was viewed as a prodigy.—The monks, elegantly habited, and regardless of forbidden meats, ridiculed their holy institutes.—The nobility, gluttonous and sunk in licentious pleasures, neglected the common practices of religion.—And the people were a prey to the rapacious violence of their lords.—But to drink was the common occupation of all orders: in this they spent their nights and days; and in low and mean houses they consumed their substance. The vices which attend on ebriety, and which enervate man, came along with it. Hence, by a mad and headstrong rashness, which no military science governed, in a single battle, and that easily gained, they gave themselves and country to slavery.—Their garments were short, reaching to the knee: their hair shorn, and their beards shaven, excepting on the upper lip: and, with painted figures marked on the skin, they wore on their arms heavy bracelets of gold.—But their intemperance only they communicated, themselves, in other regards, acquiring the manners of the victors.

The Normans, on the other hand, were then, and continued to be, ostentatiously fond of dress; and the delicacy they affected in their food, was vitiated by no excess. — Their hair was long and curled; their chins entirely shaven. — Inured to arms, and only pleased with the occupations of war or the field, they excelled in the arts of attack; and what strength could not effect, they attempted by bribes and stratagem. — In their buildings they were magnificent; in their expenses temperate. — Jealous of their equals, they sought to emulate their superiors, and though they treated their inferiors with harshness, they would protect them from injury. Their allegiance was sincere, but which the slightest offence could break asunder.—Of all men they were the most kind to strangers; they intermarried with those they had conquered; and reviving amongst them the spirit of religion, which was extinct, they erected churches, and, in a new style of architecture, decorated with convents the hamlets, the towns, the cities. The country, in its novel garb, again flourished; while he whose means were ample, deemed the day lost which some beneficent deed had not illustrated¹.

Thus wrote William of Malmfbury, nearly a hundred years after the conquest, and as in blood

¹ Wil. Malm. l. iii. p. 57.

he was allied to both people, we may conclude, that no undue partiality had biaſſed his judgment. — In the ſcale of excellence much did the Norman character preponderate, meliorated as itſelf had been, from the days of Rollo, through the lapſe of almoſt two centuries, by the genial climate and fertile ſoil of Normandy, by their intercourſe with the French provinces, and by the happy influence of chriſtian morality. But though nothing, in the ordinary courſe of things, be ſo difficult to eradicate as national characters, manners, and cuſtoms, which, in the northern and weſtern diſtricts of this iſland, have reſiſted the impreſſion of ages, and are yet unchanged; yet, at that time, fortunately, there was a circumſtance in the Engliſh character, which had prepared the way for ſuch improvement, as the Norman manners ſeemed beſt calculated to induce. No uniform ſeries of impreſſions had given ſtability to any ſyſtem of effects. Britain had been expoſed to the influence of Roman manners; the Saxons had exterminated in part, and in part new modelled, the Britiſh conſtitution; the Daniſh ſettlement had effected another change; and now came the Norman conquerors. In a people, ſo heterogeneouſly conſtituted, in blood, in manners, and in language, there muſt have been an aptitude to take new

forms; and our historian has said, that the effect corresponded, that they gave to the victors their gluttony and love of liquor, and in return put on the noble endowments of generosity and public munificence.

It is curious to trace this progress of national improvement, the more prominent lines of which, ^{Progressive change.} in the arts of peace and war, our historians have been careful to mark; whilst every change in the manners of the multitude, agreeably to the common phenomena of human nature, advances in a more slow and silent process. Here ages must elapse, before a new trace, perhaps, will be uniformly produced; for even at this day, I doubt not, the common people of England retain much of the character, of the manners, and of the customs of their Saxon ancestors. They would be Britons even, as the Welsh are, had not that race been driven to the western mountains of the island. — In the higher ranks of life, with which the kings, the nobles, the clergy, mixed, who were Normans, or of Norman origin, the manners of the ruling party would soon preponderate. Indeed, the name of Englishman, by a well-concerned policy, became a term of reproach and the natives, for a time, sank in contempt and wretchedness. By degrees, the odious stigma wore away; the victors, as I have remarked, could even

admire the system of Saxon legislation, which had before prevailed in the island; and animosities and mutual jealousies ceasing, the discordant factions coalesced into a mighty people. Towards the close of the period I have described, this had visibly happened. But then also the Norman manners very generally prevailed.

The system of education established in the grammar-schools, with a view to extirpate the English language, spread widely the knowledge of the French tongue; and as this continued to be alone spoken at court, and the laws and law-proceedings were administered in it, he who looked for favor or preferment, would be compelled to learn it. But the vulgar tongue of the great body of the people resisted every effort, unless in such slight and gradual changes, as time would naturally introduce. They frequented not the schools of grammar, and other motives, in their regard, had no effect. However, the language of the ruling party, in the higher orders of society, did prevail; and in its extent, it became the vehicle of ideas, and with ideas the vehicle of new tastes and manners.

Chivalry.

Such were the spirit of chivalry and the love of martial sports, little known in the island before the coming of the Normans. But now the genius of the great was wholly modified by them, and
they

they drew into energy the nobler passions of the heart. The school of chivalry, indeed, was the school of public virtue; but many authors have viewed it with an eye too partial. It only qualified for the profession of arms, which soon became so imposing, from the lustre of knighthood and its manifold honors, that, in the false blaze, the worth of domestic virtues was lost, and to be martial and magnanimous alone excited ambition, and called for praise. We have seen how the general propensities of the age submitted to the impulse, and were led by it. The lessons of education had that tendency; and the castle of every baron was a school of arms, in which the rudiments of chivalry, under the laws of courtesy and politeness, were instilled, and the noble youths, in the exercises of dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, prepared for the higher offices, to which they aspired. These exercises, called the preludes of war, have been often described.

In the court of the sovereign, or in the castles of the barons, the ladies, also, under similar impressions, received their education. They were often the wards of their lord, and were bred up under his eye, or that of his lady. But as courtesy, valor, and gallantry were the qualities, which one sex would be taught most to cultivate, so

would gentleness, a modest reserve, and chastity be the peculiar endowments of the other. These virtues, by a charming contrast, would mutually blend, and give to their respective votaries the powers of mutually pleasing. But though such was the tendency of chivalry, and its lessons, the reader will have seen that the effects did not correspond with the romantic system. Ignorance of the rights of men and of the pure maxims of morality, and the reaction of headstrong passions, which rapacity and the licence of arms fomented, stood in the way, marring its happiest influence. Theoretic schemes of virtue, at best the playful offspring of ingenuity, can then do little, when the elements, which constitute probity and justice of character, have not been implanted. But I meant only to instance, and not to appreciate the merits of, a cause, from which, with the rest of Europe, the manners of Englishmen received a peculiar tincture.

Amusements.

Tournaments were the great sport which chivalry introduced. But till the reign of Richard, they appear not to have been held in this country with any marked festivity; a circumstance which proves, with what reluctance, the genius of the nation adopted novelty even in its amusements. Yet tournaments, from their pomp and princely splendor, could interest the proudest

passions of the heart, and become the theatre of glory. Our princes and nobles, as I related, debarred from the amusement at home, eagerly sought it on the continent; but when Richard had given vogue to the martial sport, the phlegmatic islanders adopted it with ardor, and we saw the barons sacrificing to it their own and their country's most important interests.

Hunting and hawking were the other principal diversions, which the Normans introduced, if that may be called a diversion, which tended to oppress the weak, to dispeople the country, and to give energy to the brutal and selfish affections. "At this time," says John of Salisbury, "hunting and hawking are deemed the most honorable employments; and in them to spend their whole time, the nobility think the supreme felicity of life. — For these sports they prepare with more anxiety and expense, than they do for war; and they pursue wild beasts with greater fury, than the enemies of their country. Thus they lose the best part of their humanity, and become almost as savage as the animals they pursue. — The husbandman with his herds and flocks, is driven from his fields, his meadows, and his pastures, that room may be made for the beasts, of the forest²." — We know,

² De nugis curial. l. i. c. 4.

how the country was covered with royal forests, and the inhuman laws which were made to protect the game; while round the castle of every baron the best lands were emparked, or wooded, and the little sovereign in selfish tyranny, indulged the savage sport of the field. But so fascinating are those diversions, which, by the combined action of novelty, variety, and exercise, can interest the feelings, and rouse them into tumult, that men of all descriptions, when no contrary views or propensities were thwarted, became enamoured of the sport, and followed it with ardor. Even the clergy and the ladies were so far seized with the general rage, that, to check the unseemly passion, in the former, the church enacted many canons, and the writer, I have quoted, remarks, that the ladies so much excelled in hawking, as to surpass the gentlemen in the frivolous amusement. So he rudely termed it.

Dress.

The English also soon imitated their gay masters in the elegance and richness of their dress, and in the fashion of the hair. But it was not, without much reluctance, that they resigned their whiskers, some of them, as our historians have related, rather preferring to abandon their country; and they represent the ordinance of the conqueror, which compelled them to shave the whole

beard, as a wanton act of tyranny. The flowing ringlets of the Normans, in return, were persecuted with a no less relentless zeal by the clergy, who, themselves deprived of the becoming ornament, treated it with every indignity, and as the mark of certain reprobation.

But England was indebted to her conquerors for better improvements, than their chivalry, their sports, or the fashion of their beards, could induce. I mean the *necessary* and the *pleasing* arts. Of the first kind, were agriculture, architecture, clothing, and the arts of defensive and offensive war; and by the latter may be understood sculpture, painting, and whatever tended to the comforts or embellishments of life.

Agriculture, in its various branches, was much *Agriculture* improved. From the fertile and cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, had come over with the conqueror many thousand hands, who settled in the island, practising the methods of culture, they had been used to at home, and importing their implements. Also, in the succeeding reigns, many Flemings continued to come amongst us. We read of Norman barons, whose attention to agriculture was great, who planted orchards, cultivated wastes, and inclosed and drained extensive lakes and fens.

But to the monks the greatest obligations were due. Five hundred and fifty-seven religious houses are said to have been founded, between the conquest and the death of John. Their site was, generally, on some barren spot, and the lands, which the pious donors settled on them, covered with brakes or immersed in water, had never felt the scythe or sickle. These were cleared, and drained, and tilled, often by the hands of the monks themselves; and rich fields, meadows, and pastures were soon seen to smile, where the bramble before had crawled, and the bulrush only had nodded. — William of Malmesbury celebrates the vale of Gloucester, famous, he says, for its fertility in corn and fruit-trees, some of which the soil spontaneously produced, and the sides of the public roads were decorated with their richness. “This vale,” he adds, “is more thickly
“planted with vines, than any other part of En-
“gland, and here they are more productive,
“and their flavor is more grateful. The wines
“made from them have no harshness in the mouth,
“and are little inferior to those of France.” We have other proofs of the existence of vineyards, which the monks and clergy, for their own benefit, principally cultivated.

³ Pont. Angl. p. 161.

Architecture, perhaps, still flourished more, *Architecture*. sacred, civil, and military.—The churches of the Saxons were low, unornamented, and dark. But now a better taste began to prevail, which led soon to the accomplishment of those noble structures, which, at this day, we view with pleasure and admiration. In the reign of Henry II. appeared the *modern Gothic*. Cathedral and other churches were every where erected, often on the ruins of the ancient edifices; and convents and cloisters rose, at once the monuments of the piety, the magnificence, and the taste of the age. But the materials, the stone and marble, were often both brought from foreign quarries, and the principal artificers were foreigners. We have accurate accounts left us of the manner of raising these edifices, and of the means, not unfrequently, employed to procure supplies. When the energies of religious zeal have been duly excited, no obstacles will impede the execution of its bold designs.

Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, who was an eye-witness, has related the burning of the choir of the cathedral of Christ-church, in that city, in 1174, which Lanfranc had erected, and its immediate reparation, in less than ten years. He details, through each year, the general progress of the work, in the preparation of the

materials, the erection of the walls and columns, in stone and marble, the turning of the arches, the placing of the windows, and the labors of the sculptors and carvers in completing the admirable plan. The architect was a Frenchman from Sens, who gave and executed the design; but he being hurt by a fall, in the beginning of the fifth year, an English artist was employed to finish the work*. — Earlier than this, and in the same century, were rebuilt the abbey and church of Croyland, which a fire also had destroyed. The abbot had obtained from the archbishops of England and their suffragans, an *indulgence*, which dispensed with the third part of all penances for sin to those, who should contribute any thing towards the pious work; and it was directed to the king and his people, and to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all other kings and their vassals, rich and poor, in all parts of the christian world. Two monks carried the animating instrument into France and Flanders, two others into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into the counties of England. Four years were spent, when mountains of marble, says the

* De combust. et repar. Dorob. eccles. p. 1290.

historian, were collected round the spot, with immense heaps of gold and silver, of iron, brass, cement, and every necessary material. The day was fixed for laying the foundation.

On the day, a great multitude, from the neighbouring districts, met at Croyland, earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks. — The abbot Joffred prayed, and shedding tears of joy, laid the corner-stone of the eastern front to the north. The next was laid by Richard de Rulos, a knight much attached to the abbey, and on it twenty pounds. Then came Geoffry Ridel, a knight, and his wife Geva, and his sister Avicia, the first laying on his stone ten marks; and the ladies having placed their stones, presented each a stone-cutter to serve, at their expense, for two years. — The next corner stone, to the south of the same front, was laid by the abbot of Thorney, Joffred's brother, and on it ten pounds. Alan de Croun a baron, with his lady, and their eldest son and daughter, placed the next four stones, offering on them the title-deeds of the advowsons of four neighbouring churches. — The earl of Leicester, and the baron de Cantelupe, with his lady, and Alan de Fulbek, and Theoderic de Botheby, with his lady, and Turbrand de

Spalding, knights; and then the earl of Northampton, followed by four knights, and three ladies, placed their respective stones, in the circle of the same front, each, in order, offering on them, forty marks, twenty marks, a hundred shillings, the gift of a messuage and two acres of land, the tithes of sheep, a hundred marks, the service of two stone-cutters for four years, and the tithes of Kirkby and of four other livings.—The foundation-stones of the north and south walls were then laid by the same two abbots and the monks of the convent; when the priests of three neighbouring parishes advanced, and laid the bases of the three columns of the north-wall, the first attended by a hundred and four men of his parish, offering their labor for one day in every month; the second with sixty, and the third with forty-two men, making the same offering, till the work should be completed. The three columns of the south-wall were then laid by the priest of Grantham, with two hundred and twenty men, offering ten marks; and by the priest of Hockam, with his men, presenting twenty quarters of wheat and as many of malt; and by a third priest, with eighty-four men, offering six marks, two stone-cutters in their own quarry, and the carriage of the stone to Croyland.

Joffred, who had addressed each one as he laid his stone, now having admitted them to the fraternity of the abbey, and, with the benefits of the indulgence, to the participation also of their joint prayers and good works, invited the vast concourse, more than five thousand persons, to dinner. The day passed in hilarity, when the strangers retired, and the great work began. And soon, concludes the historian, the public apartments of the monks were completed, while the church, rising to the clouds, looked down on the neighbouring forest, inviting the traveller to approach¹.

By means like these were those noble structures raised, which, at this time, wealthy, and munificent, and skilful, as we are, nations hardly dare attempt. That superstition, as we conceive it, was the animating principle, which planned and accomplished the designs, I am ready to allow; but, by what name shall that reforming zeal be called, which, some hundred years afterwards, could raise the massive hammer, and crumble in the dust the proud materials?

The improvements in *civil* architecture, as the author I first quoted, has remarked, were

¹ Continuat. hist. Ingulph. p. 118.

not less progressive. But we must confine them to the palaces, or rather castles, of the nobility; for the buildings of the common people in the towns and country, made of wood and covered with straw or reeds, continued to be mean and comfortless. Every where castles were raised by the kings and barons, for their defence, as well as residence, particularly under the first kings; and in the reign alone of Stephen, no less than eleven hundred and fifteen. They encumbered the land, lowering oppression and defiance, and were often the seats of rapacity and plunder. In their construction we must not look for elegance, or the display of the finer arts, which decorated the monasteries and churches. Properly, therefore, they come under the description of *military* architecture, and from the few which as yet stand, we may form a just idea of their former strength and structure. They were generally covered with lead, as were the churches, and the narrow windows were glazed, admitting a scanty and enfeebled light. The great hall alone could cheer the welcome stranger, in which the noble landlord sat, encompassed by his friends and retainers, whilst the full bowl went round, and the jocund minstrels swelled the dank air with their songs.

The arts of offensive and defensive war, in the Arms and raising and marshalling of armies, in their armour armour. and arms, their shields, spears, swords, lances, darts, bows, arrows, slings, with the various machines for throwing darts, and stones, and battering walls, in the attack and defence of places, it is unnecessary to exhibit. The foregoing history has sufficiently detailed their use, and marked their rapid progress to great perfection. But the battle of Hastings had clearly evinced the superior skill of the Normans. And here I wish to notice the admirable construction of the armour used in battle, and the ingenuity of the artists, which seems to have risen to uncommon excellence. A suit of armour was made of steel, and consisted of many different pieces, for the several parts of the body, so nicely joined, that the action of the limbs remained free, and their whole strength could be exerted. A knight cased in armour was almost invulnerable; but we may, with reason, be surprised that he did not sink under the weight, or that his arm, through a summer's day, could wield a heavy sword or battle-axe. The armour, particularly the helmet, was well tempered, and polished, and sometimes gilt. We read also of horses who were fitted with armour.

But the art of working in gold and silver, in

the plate and ornaments of churches, seems, from some accounts, to have been carried to greater perfection. Here the pride and piety of many prelates and abbots urged the work; and zeal even could transfuse its animating glow into the hand of the artist, while it fashioned the sacred implement, or decorated the shrine of some favorite saint. An observation, however, should not be omitted, that the perfection of arts is relative, and that what, at that time, was viewed with wonder, we should cast away with disdain.

Arts of clothing.

I mentioned the arts of *clothing*, which consist in dressing and spinning wool and flax, and weaving them into linen and woollen-cloth, which now also were much improved, owing principally to the many manufacturers, who came over from Flanders. “Leaving their looms,” says an ancient writer, “a business familiar and almost peculiar to that people, they landed in shoals amongst us.” This was in the reign of Stephen; and before that time, and soon after it, colonies of them were settled in South Wales, pursuing their favorite occupation, where their children, at this day, are.—The weavers in the great towns of England were now formed into guilds; and there is a law of 1197, which regulates the fabrication and sale of

* Gerv. an. 1139.

broad cloth, in which many abuses had been committed: but, in the following reign, a suspension of the ordinance was obtained.—In a letter of John of Salisbury, I find mention made of three hundred ells of Rhemish linen, presented by a lady to Henry II. *to make him shirts*; which proves that, though linen was then generally worn, the finer articles were held in great estimation: for such we may presume, was that which was offered to a king.

Silks, though worn by persons of high rank, particularly on solemn occasions, and in general use in the churches, seem not, at this time, to have been manufactured in England. But the art of *embroidery* was much practised by the ladies, especially by the nuns in their convents, in ornamenting the vestments of the priests, and other garments for the service of the altar. The reader will also recollect the splendid mantle of Richard, when he appeared in the plain of Limisso, though that, probably, had been made in Sicily, then famed for its silken manufacture.

As for the *pleasing arts* of sculpture, painting, *Sculpture,* poetry, and music, though the writers of the age be loud in their praise, and they were pursued with eagerness, yet little excellence had been acquired in them. — The churches,

indeed, were crowded with the statues of saints, and the motives of veneration which, in other days, are supposed to have given a peculiar energy to the Grecian artists, when they fashioned the statues of their gods, would now also, by a similar impulse, animate the glowing chisel; but the concurrence of many circumstances, few of which times such as these could possess, is besides necessary to lead the arts to perfection. It must, however, be owned, that their revival, and the degree of excellence to which they rose, after the barbarians of the north had desolated the Roman provinces, were solely ascribable to the superstition, in the dark ages, of the christian converts. A nation of philosophers, or men of cool religion, would erect no magnificent churches, labor no breathing statues; in a word, would not pursue the arts, which, giving a lustre to external piety, tend also to improve and to embellish life.

Painting likewise was much practised, not only on the ceilings of churches, which was common; but in ornamenting the apartments, furniture, and especially the shields, of persons of rank. The subjects, we may presume, were historical. Portrait-painting also was followed. — With what taste such works were executed, can only be estimated from the general standard of the age. The
rapturous

rapturous strains of the monkish writers must pass unheeded. — But it is evident, that they well understood how to prepare and combine their colors, as the beautiful *illuminations* of books, which still exist, sufficiently prove. — The art of painting or staining glass, which had been long known on the continent, is thought to have been brought into England in the reign of John.

The *poetry* of the age was written in English, Poetry. then a harsh and uncultivated tongue, or in Latin, or in *lingua Romana*, the Romance language, at that time, spoken in all the provinces of France. This was used by the Normans, and differed little from the Provençal, which has been termed the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French. I am dispensed from entering on the subject; so admirably has it been treated by the *Historian of our poetry*. But his eye, penetrating the covering which an uncouth language spread, seems sometimes to have discovered beauties, which are lost to others. All the productions of the age, as far as I have seen, some Latin poems only excepted, are to my apprehension most contemptible. Yet when we reflect, with what ardor the pleasing art was cultivated, how esteemed were its professors, how honored, and how rewarded, the problem will not be easily solved.

To say that their language would not bend to sublime or melodious strains, is to know nothing of the powers of genius, which, at will, can create language, and embody thought. How rude was the Gaelic tongue, when Ossian sang, or that of Iceland, when its Rhythmic odes were written! Yet in them are the genuine seeds of poetry. But English had been long spoken, and the Romance language, as articulated in Provence, was full and harmonious: still, in the compositions of both countries there was no simplicity, no grandeur of imagery, no boldness of thought, no energy of expression. All is weak, affected, low, labored, puerile. The character of mind, therefore, was defective, and not the language in which they wrote. Their religion did not elevate: they viewed battles with a cold indifference: and in describing beauty or the concerns of love, they looked to forced conceits only and affected metaphors. What can be so pitiful as the sonnet ascribed to Richard, the royal troubadour, written, it is said, in his captivity? And his companion and historian, Vinfauf, who even wrote in Latin, was as bad a poet as he. I have not solved the problem; but I must proceed.

Music.

The *music* of the age, we need not doubt, kept pace with its poetry. Both arts, indeed, were

generally in the same hands; for the poets were minstrels, and sang their verses to the music of their harps. They lived in the courts of princes, and in the castles of the barons, ministering to their vanity, and receiving wealth and honor in return for their songs. The flattering circumstance proves the fashion of the age, and not, as some have fancied, that the minstrels had any claim to real excellence. But in music, as in the other arts, all excellence is relative. — It was of three kinds, sacred, civil, and martial.

The harp, except in the churches, where the organ was used, and in the armies, where they used horns, drums, and trumpets, was the most favorite and admired instrument. Giraldus, the Welsh historian, in describing the music of the times, gives the preference to that of the Irish, the movement of which, he says, was quick and rapid, but soothing and sweet, while the modulation of the English was slow and languid. But it was in music only, he observes malevolently, that the Irish nation had any claim to excellence; and he goes on to describe, with much surprise, their masterly execution on the harp. Scotland then, he says, and Wales, emulous of their sister's glory, strove to pursue her steps. — The Irish had two instruments, the harp and the timbrel: the

Scots three, the harp, the timbrel, and the bag-pipe; and the Welsh three, the harp, the pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Irish harps had generally brass strings. “But at this time,” he concludes, “Scotland, in the opinion of many, has left her mistress far behind; and to her they have recourse, as to the source of melody.” — The same author commends highly the Welsh manner of singing, which appears from its various tones and modulations, to have been very harmonious. The English also, beyond the Humber, and in the neighbourhood of York, he says, excelled in singing, though their songs consisted only of two parts, the deep murmuring bass, and the high and sweet sounding treble⁷. But the dialect of this same people, observes the monk of Malmesbury, was so harsh and stridulous, as not to be understood by the southern English.

Trade. I would willingly say something on the *trade* of England, which, though it received a check at the conquest by the prevalence of feudal maxims, soon recovered additional vigor from our French and Flemish connexions, would my limits allow it. — The chief seats of trade, as they

⁷ Topograph. Hibern. l. iii. c. 11.

⁸ Camb. descrip. c. 13.

long had been, were London, Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Dunwich, and the Cinque-ports; and the principal exports were wool and woollen-cloths, corn, metals, *slaves*; and the imports were wines, spiceries, silks, metals, furs. The internal trade was in the hands of the natives, and the foreign mostly in the hands of foreigners. The Jews were numerous, as traders and as money-lenders. But on the subject of commerce, however important we may deem it, little is to be collected from the monkish writers.

The same nominal sum of money, a *pound*, a *mark*, a *shilling*, contained nearly *thrice* as much silver, (for gold was not in use,) as the same nominal sum contains at present. To know, therefore, how many of our pounds, marks, or shillings were contained in any sum then mentioned, we must multiply it by three. In a year of plenty, Matthew of Paris observes, a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, that is six shillings of our money.

Value of
money.

But the *same quantity* of silver was much more valuable than it is now; and that *value* seems most properly estimated in the proportion of five to one: that is, the same quantity of silver, at that time, purchased five times as much of labor, meat or drink, as it would at present. In

a great dearth, says Henry of Huntingdon, a quarter of wheat sold for six shillings, that is, for four pounds ten shillings.

Intercourse
with France.

Hitherto I have considered the manners and the general state of the island, as improved and modified by the Norman settlers: but to the operation of this cause the whole effect must not be confined. At the same time, our intercourse with France, from all its provinces, operated; for we travelled into all, and were connected with all, (various as their manners and tastes were,) in sovereignty, or in trade, or in learning, or in chivalry. But with the whole western coast, a vast district reaching from the British channel to the Pyrenean mountains, our union was most intimate, forming one people by the common ties of interest and dominion. And the French language, with which our ears were familiarized, and which was generally understood served as a vehicle, whereby the manners and tastes even of the distant provinces were communicated to the island. Our princes, as we observed in duke Richard and others, with their courts and retainers lived on the continent, maintaining an interchange of ideas and maxims, the effects of which would be obvious. Thence men were called into England to occupy important offices in church and state; for many of our bishops,

particularly, were foreigners; and the circumstance would greatly contribute to diffuse their manners.

But the reader has witnessed the wonderful influence of a distant court, which reached to this country, and to all the countries of Europe, modifying, in some degree, their manners, and controlling their opinions, in religion, in morals, and in politics. I speak of the Roman court. However, as England was not more exposed to the impression than other nations, its general effect should be viewed; and this leads me to observe, that, at no time, perhaps, in the history of mankind, were the manners, the ideas, and the character of Europe so similar as at this. I mean, in regard to those people, whose politics I have mentioned.—In Germany, France, Sicily, and England, the governments were feudal: but where this happens, the concomitant similarity of effects needs not be detailed. On the throne of Sicily even were Norman princes.—The religion also of these kingdoms, and of Europe, was the same; and to all extended the controlling power of Rome.

Rome then, by her agents, and more by the opinion she had been able to impress, of her universal jurisdiction and infallible decisions, could sway, often irresistibly, as we have seen,

the whole system of politics and religion. She stood as a centre of union, conveying her energy through a thousand channels while her emissaries, at a distance, maintained the illusion, and crowds of appellants and candidates flocked to her court, pleading for redress, or imploring patronage. With what readiness and alacrity these journeys were performed, the reader has often witnessed, though the roads were bad, and no conveniences of travelling could be found. But as the Romans were a polished people, and the arts and sciences were much cultivated among them, and in the states of Italy, many advantages arose from the intercourse, to balance the abuses of an undue power; and the improvements of Europe and of this country were, in many instances, ascribable to it.

It has been sometimes said that, with the Normans came into this country a system of religious belief, different from what the Saxons had professed, particularly in regard to the prerogative of the Roman bishop. The question is not fairly stated. Our Saxon kings with their bishops were far more bigoted, and more subservient to the will of Rome, than were the princes and clergy of the

Norman line; but, at that time, the monstrous theory of papal domination had not been universally disseminated, and christian Europe was more independent and free. It was a few years after the conquest that Gregory VII. the father of ecclesiastical despotism, sat in the chair of St. Peter⁹. To this circumstance of the general prevalence of the doctrine, and not to any peculiar attachment of the Normans to the see of Rome, must be ascribed that submission to its mandates, which we often witnessed. We also witnessed their bold resistance, when to obey did not comport with their interest or their humor.

In speaking of the religious notions of the period, a curious subject presents itself, with which they immediately connect, and on which, would my limits permit the discussion, I could enlarge with pleasure. I mean the new monastic institutes. In another work¹⁰, I related the rise and progress of the orders of Cluni and Citeaux, with some others, the latter of which, owing to the great fame of Bernard, rapidly spread through Europe, eclipsing by its austere and

Monastic institutions.

⁹ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 23.

¹⁰ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 129. 219.

holy manners the hard-earned praise of other monks. Into England the Cistercian order was fondly received, and established in many houses, with a princely munificence, during the reign of Henry I. and his immediate successors. But in all things there is fashion. The minds of the founders of orders had, for centuries, been employed in devising new institutes, new dresses, new modes of life; and their contemporaries, as the holy fancy led, warmly espoused the novel form, and gave their persons and their purses to support it. At no time was this propensity more busily at work than in the dark ages; though the council of Lateran had recently prohibited the invention of new orders. But as one order sprang up, another fell. Wealth, gradually accumulating, destroyed the fervent spirit, which once commanded admiration; men tired of an institute, to which they and their fathers had been long habituated; and when a new order rose, with it crowded on the sight whatever fervorous zeal and un sullied purity could present most affecting and awful. Even miracles were thought to speak in its favor. — But in the great variety of orders, which now existed, it might have been imagined, that human invention was exhausted, or that enough, at least, had been done to satisfy the

most unbounded curiosity. It was not so; and the reader shall just be permitted to see, how wide a sphere had been left unoccupied.

Francis named of Assisium, from the place of his birth, a town in the ecclesiastical states, about the year 1206 founded an order, the character and leading maxims of which, even in an age of prodigies, could excite amazement. He was the son of a merchant, and bred to his father's trade. But particularly constituted, and listening to dreams and visions, his mind opened to other impressions: he despised the money-getting life, solaced the indigent by his charities, made himself a butt of ridicule to his fellow-citizens, and finally surrendered into his father's hands every prospect of future support, stripping off his garments before him, that he might be the better able to repeat, he said, *Our father who art in heaven!* He retired, indulging the warm suggestions of his mind, by the practices of self-abasement, in aiding the sick, begging alms for their relief, and carrying stones on his back for the repair of some fallen churches. As one day he listened to the gospels, he heard the words read: "Provide
" neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your
" purses; nor scrip for your journey, neither
" two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves,
" for the workman is worthy of his meat,"—

Francis of
Assisium.

“ That,” he exclaimed, “ is the life I wish for;” and he threw aside his shoes, his wallet, his staff, and the little money he had, keeping only one poor coat, with a capuce, such as the shepherds in Italy then wore, girded round with a knotted cord. This became the dress of his followers.

That he should find followers, may appear extraordinary. He had no learning: but in his words there was a great simplicity; a gentleness in his manners which attracted; in his conduct a forgiveness of injuries, a patience of insults, a contempt of riches, and a purity which raised admiration, and drew attention round him. He preached, and soon had disciples. With these, who were eleven in number, having first drawn up a rule founded on the letter of the gospel-maxims, he went to Rome, and presented himself before the pontiff. It was the high-minded Innocent. He heard the lowly Francis enounce the nature of his institute, which a zeal for the reformation of a vicious age principally animated, and after some objections made to the practicability of the scheme, approved it.

The rule in its first form, and as afterwards more detailed, besides the three usual vows of *obedience, chastity, and poverty*, contained injunctions which were peculiar to it. The brothers shall consider

themselves as pilgrims and strangers in the world; shall possess no property in lands or any endowments of their houses; shall support themselves by the free contributions of the faithful; but, on no occasion, shall receive money. There is a wonderful spirit of humility, of submission to a ruling providence, of good will to mankind, which pervades this extraordinary code of laws, tinged by no views of party, no self-interest, no human policy. A society of christian philosophers was seen to rise, who by an easy effort, it seemed, could practise the sublime lessons, which the sages of Greece had boastingly delivered to their followers. What an ancient poet said of Zeno, the father of the Stoic school, *esurire docet, et invenit discipulos*, with more propriety might be applied to the holy citizen of Assisium.

Soon he began to found convents, as the fame of his sanctity grew; and as his disciples multiplied, he sent them, with excellent admonitions, into the provinces of Italy, and to distant nations, to preach, to instruct, and to edify. — In 1219 was held a general chapter of the order near Assisium, when more than five thousand brothers appeared in the field. For several days there they remained, sitting and sleeping on the bare earth, while provisions flowed in from

the neighbouring towns, and the nobles of the land, and the clergy, with their own hands administered 'to them. — In this year a colony of them came into England, where being kindly received, they established themselves first in Canterbury, and then in London, under the name of *Grey Friars*. Francis died seven years after this, having witnessed the wonderful spread of his institute, and gained the reputation of a saint by the display of extraordinary virtues¹¹. In an age of less intemperance in religion, miracles and the fancied intervention of peculiar favors from heaven would not have been deemed necessary, to stamp worth and admiration on a character, which, in itself, possessed the purest excellences that fall to the lot of man. But this circumstance, and more than this, the reception which an institute so peculiarly framed met with, serve to manifest the singular taste of the age.

Dominic.

At the same time rose the order of Dominic, a Spaniard of the Gusman family, born in the diocese of Osma. We first read of him with his bishop, in the missions of Languedoc, against the Albigenes. He had studied in the new schools of Palencia, and was well skilled in the controversies

¹¹ Auctores varii.

of the times. His zeal for the orthodox belief was conspicuous; but it seemed, that his gentle manners and a great benevolence of character would check its too ardent propensities. Dominic also would be the founder of an order; and under him sprang up that of the Dominicans, less austere in its practices than that we have seen, and which soon also multiplied into all the kingdoms of Europe. They came to England with the Franciscans, and were called the *Black Friars*. Under the auspices of Dominic the court of Inquisition took a more regular form, which had before been established in Languedoc. He died five years before St. Francis. — Other orders, during this period, were founded; but these were the most conspicuous, and their descendants still subsist.

The crusades must not be forgotten; for Crusades. they also, in return for the treasure and the lives which they consumed, contributed something to the general stock of improvement. But this has been over-rated. From the intercourse of so many nations, which the common cause united, and from their mutual collision, advantages, I know, would be derived and to these, in the last expedition might be added some acquirements in the art of navigation, and the lessons which the improved state of Sicily would present to the inquisitive and the curious. That there

were such men in the holy armies, it is natural to conclude; yet to judge from the best documents, it seems, that they brought little back with them, but the bodies of saints, and tales of strange adventures; and that a vain superstition joined to a horror of those, whom they deemed the enemies of Christ, had so absorbed the common powers of observation and discernment, that they could neither see, nor collect from, the various stores of information, which lay open before them. No benefits at least were so prominent, as to have produced any sensible change in the arts of agriculture, trade, or manufactures. I mentioned, in its place, some of the advantages which western Europe derived from the taking of Constantinople.

Learning. I am come to the *learning* of the period. — It will be recollected from William of Malmfbury, how low was the state of literature at the Norman accession. We must therefore now look for the dawn of science, however languid and uncertain its first rays may seem. Such is the relation in the general order of things, and such the mental progress, that the whole system together moves, rises, declines, and falls. We have seen what, in various lines, the improvements were. Learning would keep pace with them; for there were similar causes to urge on its progress.

As

As glory can be obtained from letters, and therefore by encouraging the professors of them, it was natural that our Norman kings, when their establishment was secured, and the ambition of conquest was allayed, should direct their attention to less tumultuary pursuits. The conqueror had been well educated, and he soon became the munificent patron of learned men. They crowded to his court, and diffused around it a spirit of literary improvement, which would spread, in undulating circles, to the nearer and more distant castles of the barons. His son Henry, surnamed *Beauclerk*, was himself a scholar. And Henry Plantagenet, as we have seen, spent his leisure-hours in reading, or in discussing literary questions in a circle of learned men. The example of kings is a powerful incentive; it rouses emulation, and opens the eye to favor and preferment: and where they can reward, interest will give a spur to pursuits.

The intercourse also which England maintained with the continent, opened a channel through which the learning of distant provinces, and of remote kingdoms, but especially of Rome flowed in. We frequented the schools of other kingdoms, particularly those of Bologna and Paris; and we numbered among our bishops and

leading clergy, such as Robert de Melun, Stephen Langton, and many others, men who had been eminent professors there. — But the increase of monasteries, in this period, was the principal cause of the increase of knowledge. They added to the number of teachers and students; and multiplied the inducements to pursue, and the opportunities to acquire knowledge, by making books more common and more attainable than they had been. Every convent was a school, wherein the several parts of science were taught: every convent had a library, and its monks were employed in transcribing books: and the government of every convent, to which a considerable degree of power and dignity was annexed, was often bestowed on men, whom peculiar endowments recommended to the office. But there is an obligation due to them, which no time can cancel. They preserved the valuable remains of Grecian and Roman literature, without which, who can say, that Europe, at this day, would not have been involved in the shades of barbarism?

Notwithstanding these inducements, the progress in science was slow; it was confined, in a great measure, to the monks and clergy, while the barons and the laity, engaged in other pursuits, left the path of literature almost exclusively

open to them ; the subjects of inquiry were ill-selected ; the modes of education were not calculated to diffuse improvement ; and the general taste was bad. It is less difficult to implant on a new people the seeds of genuine science which shall fructify, than to reform what has been vitiated.

What was the state of learning in this country, may be applied, with little variation, to others. For now, by the intercourse, I have mentioned, which exchanged and communicated what before might be deemed peculiar to each, in the arts or sciences, an uniformity prevailed, and almost a common measure of improvement. So, to judge from the literary productions of the period, we must pronounce, wherein can be discovered no superior excellence of nation over nation, than what occurs in comparing the several compositions of the same people. They all wrote in the same language, which was Latin ; and all drew from the same sources, from the ancients servilely imitated, from the suggestions of a weak superstition, from received opinions which no criticism had discussed, and from nature neither studied nor understood.

The parts of learning which England, and other countries, cultivated, were grammar, rhetoric,

logic ; metaphysics , physics , ethics , scholastic divinity , the canon law , the civil law , the common law , arithmetic , geometry , astronomy , astrology , and medicine.

As already , in another work ¹² , I have treated this subject , and some of the branches were so imperfectly understood as to merit no attention , I shall conceive myself dispensed from the discussion of each separate article.

Grammar.

The study of *grammar* seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the Latin tongue , which was the language of the learned in their writings and even in their conversation , of men of business in their correspondence , of the church in her service , and of the church's pastors in their synods , and sometimes , it seems , even in their instructions to the people. Many of our bishops and clergy , natives of France and Italy , knew nothing of the vulgar tongue of the realm. The colloquial Latin of the period was in many , we may presume , neither impure nor inelegant , to judge from the specimens , which our historians have recorded , but more from their familiar correspondence. Herein are frequent quotations from the best classical writers , and their style and manner are sometimes imitated with success.

¹² Hist. of Abel. passim.

But on the whole, their language is unclassical, written with little ease, and with evident marks of a bad education and a vicious taste. Yet how beautiful is this opening of a letter from John of Salisbury to his primate: "Ex quo partes attigi
 " Cismarinas, visus sum mihi sensisse lenioris auræ
 " temperiem, et detumescentibus procellis tempe-
 " statum, cum gaudio miratus sum rerum ubique
 " copiam, quietemque et lætitiā populorum." John was the most elegant writer of the age. But in the primate's letters all is harsh, technical, and disgusting from the unceasing use of scriptural phraseology. And this phraseology even their historians often copied. Latin therefore may be considered as, at that time, almost a living language; whence we are authorized to pronounce, from the character it bore, what were the *grammatical* purity and the classical taste of the age.

Rhetoric, or the art of speaking eloquently, Rhetoric. kept pace with their grammar. Indeed, there must ever be in both the same proportion of excellence. I have met with some examples of their eloquence, that would do honor to any age; but with more that would disgrace the rustic orators of a mob. The reader will recollect the address of the earl of Arundel, spoken in English

or in the French tongue, before the pontiff and the Roman cardinals at Sens; also that of Becket, on the same occasion; and several other speeches, in which were the elements of genuine oratory. In all of them I strove to retain the real character of the originals. But this, I apprehend, is not the point in question; for the tongue of the unlettered savage becomes eloquent, when the heart dictates to its utterance. Here is properly meant that factitious elocution, which the schools taught agreeably to the definitions and rules of rhetoric. I have said what its character was.

Logic, meta-
physics, phy-
sics, ethics

Of *logic*, *metaphysics*, *physics*, and *ethics*, I shall only repeat that the *first*, pretending to follow the rules of Aristotle, who now came into general vogue, degenerated into a wretched sophistry, replete with quibbles and trifling subtilties, yet that it engrossed the attention of the studious and inquisitive, as was seen in Abeillard and the sophists of the age: that the *second*, consisting of similar speculations on entity, spirit, matter, substance, accidents, occult qualities, and substantial forms, had no pretensions to the notice of men, whose minds could have appreciated what is really valuable in human pursuits: that the *third*, (as we may collect from Giraldus Cambrensis, who was sent by his

sovereign to survey, as a philosopher, the productions and face of Ireland, and from innumerable other instances,) however much studied, contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life: and that the *fourth*, amused with the theory of ideal duties, tended not to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the morals, by showing the foundation of their obligations, or by illustrating the nature, limits, and motives, of the various duties of men and citizens.

But *scholastic divinity* now assumed a more regular form; and as this form was immediately adopted into the schools of England and of Europe, and still continues to prevail in many foreign seminaries, it becomes proper to observe that Peter, called Lombardus from the country of his birth, archbishop of Paris, and who died about the year 1160, was its father. His most honorable appellation is that of the *master of sentences*, the title of the work he published, exhibiting passages from the ancient fathers, the apparent contradictions of which he strives to conciliate. It contains an entire body of theology, in four books, and each book is divided into many *distinctions*. The first treats of the Trinity, and its attributes: the second of the creation, first of angels, then of the work of the six

Scholastic divinity.

days, of man and his fall, of grace and free will, of original and actual sin, the third of the incarnation, of faith, hope, and charity, of the gifts of the holy spirit, and of the commandments: and the fourth of the sacraments in general and particular, of purgatory, the resurrection, the last judgment, and the state of the blessed. — The author, as I observed, does little else than string together quotations from the fathers, interspersing a thousand ridiculous and unimportant questions, as to us they seem, supported by weak opinions and passages from the scriptures figuratively interpreted. He disapproved much, it is said, of the application which Peter Abeillard and other masters had made of the rules of Aristotle to the doctrines of revelation, and therefore brought forward the authorities rather of the fathers, on which to build the system of christian belief. — His work was received with great applause; and for ages, in the schools of theology, the book of *sentences* became the only text which was read and explained to scholars. Two hundred and forty-four authors, many of them the ablest divines of their respective periods, wrote commentaries on the *sentences*. Even I find one hundred and sixty in the single list of English commentators. But *the master* was not deemed infallible, not being followed in twenty-six articles;

and one propofition which he taught , that *Chrift* , *as man* , *is not something* (*non eft aliquid* ,) was cenfured by Alexander III. Even Walter of St. Victor dared , foon after his death , to rank him with the four fophifts , whom he ftyles the *labyrinths* of France¹³.

The *canon law* , likewise , a few years before this , had been much extended in its general application , and foon engaged the attention of churchmen. In 1151 , Gratian a monk of Bologna , publifhed his *Decretum* , a collection of the opinions , decrees , and canons , of fathers , docters , popes , and councils. There was no accuracy ufed in the felection of thefe documents , and modern criticism has demonftrated their multifarious errors. Compilations of the fame nature had before been made , particularly by Ifidore in the eighth century , who pretended to have difcovered the decrees of fixty early popes , and the canons of ancient councils , nearly all of which are now known to have been forgeries. Thefe Gratian inserted in his *Decretum*. The monftrous compilation , from the approbation it received at Rome , foon obtained an unbounded authority ; it was read in all the fchools , and became the law of the church. It was on the fpurious authority of this work , and of

Canon and
civil law.

¹³ Fleury , t. xv. p. 65. 475.

those which had preceded it, that were founded the pretensions of the Roman bishops to universal monarchy, the rise and extension of which I carefully noticed ¹⁴.

About the same time, the study of the Roman or *civil law* was revived on the continent, and soon introduced into England. Bologna was the great seminary; and it was the discovery of a copy of the *Pandects* of Justinian, whose Code, *Novellæ*, and *Institutes* had been long read and explained, that is supposed to have given a new ardor to the pursuit. But unfortunately the canon and civil laws were permitted to coalesce into one system. They seemed to afford a mutual support to each other; the professors of both were the same; and he who would rise in the church became a civilian and canonist. Had they been kept separate, the weak pretensions of churchmen to the partial countenance of the state would not have been encouraged; their own laws when found incompatible, as many of them were, with the good of the community, would have sunk; and we should not have beheld state religions still standing on their sandy basis.

¹⁴ *Idem passim et alii.*

Ranulph de Glanville, a name often mentioned, chief justiciary under Henry II. published in his reign, or caused to be published, a collection of the *laws and customs* of England. This is the most ancient of our law-books extant. — But a circumstance is recorded by Peter of Blois, speaking of archbishop Theobald, which shows the attention which was given to the study of the laws. “ In the house of my master,” he says, “ are several learned men, famous for their “ knowledge of law and politics, who spend the “ hours between prayers and dinner, in lecturing, “ disputing, and debating causes. To us all the “ knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, “ which are produced in the common hall, and “ each one in his order, having first prepared “ himself, declares, with all the eloquence and “ acuteness in his power, but without wrangling, “ what is wisest and safest to be done. And if “ God suggests the best opinion to the youngest “ amongst us, we agree to it without envy or “ detraction¹⁵. ”

On arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine, the state of which was very imperfect, little can be said, if we except astrology, of all the most idle and fallacious, but

¹⁵ Pet. Bles. ep. 6.

which by an ignorant and superstitious, people would be ardently pursued. Many predictions, from the face of heavens, are recorded in the historians; and the science, though vain in itself, might help to diffuse some knowledge of the solar system, of the situation of the planets, and their revolutions.

Oxford.

The principal seats of learning in England were Oxford and Cambridge, not yet styled *Universities*. — Oxford, which our old writers call Oxenford, whatever may have been its higher antiquity, had Alfred for its regular founder. But from the Danes it suffered much, and from the Normans; nor till the reign of Henry I. who built a palace there in which he sometimes resided, had it risen to any eminence. By Stephen again it was destroyed, and its teachers and scholars dispersed; when the son of Matilda, as the phoenix rose from her ashes, gave his patronage and support; and under Richard, whose birth-place it was, the splendor of Oxford, in its buildings and learned teachers, grew, and it could rival the proud seminaries of Paris and Bologna. Again, in the reign of John, from an accidental tumult a disaster happened, which occasioned another dispersion of the professors and scholars. To the number of three thousand they abandoned the place, and retired to Reading

and other towns. Soon however, through the powerful mediation of a Roman legate, they returned in greater numbers, and from this time Oxford flourished with increasing glory¹⁶.

Cambridge seems still to have suffered more Cambridge. from the ravages of the Danes, and the insults of the Normans, and to have lain longer in neglect and obscurity. In 1109, when Henry I. was on the throne, it revived, and the circumstances of the event are distinctly marked by Peter of Blois, a name I have often mentioned. Joffred, abbot of Croyland, intending to rebuild his monastery, as I related, sent master Gislebert with three other monks to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge. They were able scholars, skilled in philosophical theorems and other primitive sciences. Every day they went to Cambridge, and having hired a barn, gave public lectures. Soon the barn could not contain the great concourse of scholars, when they separated into different parts of the town; and brother Odo, an excellent grammarian and satirist, read grammar, early in the morning, to the boys and younger students, according to Priscian and Remigius his commentator. At one o'clock, brother Terricus, an acute sophist, read Aristotle's

¹⁶ Auctores varii passim.

Logics to the elder sort, according to the commentaries of Porphyry and Averroes. At three, brother William gave lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's institutions. While master Gislebert, who, I should have said, was professor of theology, not understanding English, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached to the people on Sundays and holidays. Why the circumstance of master Gislebert's not being understood by the people, qualified him for a preacher, is not explained. "Thus," concludes the historian, "from this small source, which has swelled into a great river, we now behold the city of God made glad, and all England rendered fruitful, by many teachers and doctors issuing from Cambridge, as from a most holy paradise". This was written before the end of the same century; but during the war between John and his barons, a few years afterwards, Cambridge was taken and plundered by both parties. It soon recovered.

Cathedral and
other schools.

There were also schools annexed to the *cathedrals*, under the immediate inspection of the bishops, in their instructions principally calculated for those who were designed for the church.—We read

" Continuat. Hist. Ingulph. an. 1109.

of eminent teachers in these schools, who were called the *scholastics of the diocese*. — I have mentioned the *conventual* schools, which were numerous, and which widely spread the love of science. Thus does Alexander Necham, in the twelfth century, in lines not inelegant addressed to the abbot of Gloucester, speak of the abbey-school of St. Alban's, where he had been educated, and of its studies.

Quod si forte fores claudat tibi Claustria, claustrum

Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.

Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,

Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.

Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos

Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.

Hic artes didici, docuique fideliter; inde

Accessit studio lectio sacra meo.

Audivi canones, Hipocratem cum Galieno,

Jus civile mihi displicuisse neges.

That in the chief cities and towns were other schools instituted, can be collected from our historians, particularly in London.

But Paris, unquestionably, was the most celebrated seat of learning, to which all resorted, at least to complete their studies, whom great talents rendered conspicuous or the love of literary fame

Paris and Bologna.

inspired. John of Salisbury flying from his country, in the following words describes the majesty of Paris: “ Ubi cum viderem victualium
 “ copiam, lætitiā populi, reverentiam cleri,
 “ et totius ecclesiæ majestatem et gloriam, et
 “ varias occupationes philosophantium admiratus
 “ coactus sum profiteri; *felix exilium, cui*
 “ *locus iste datur* ” ! ”

Bologna was little less illustrious, where the study of the Roman law had been revived; but which, after the publication of the *Decretum*, was still more frequented. Arnulph of Lisieux was there; and from that source, I observed, Becket drew those maxims, which other churchmen universally adopted, and in the defence of which he died.

So numerous, as I have described them, in this and other countries, were the schools and seminaries of learning. To what cause then was the ignorance of the age owing? Not to any want of opportunities in schools or masters, as is obvious. But in the laity of the higher orders, extreme dissipation in war, in rural diversions, and domestic riots, averted the mind from every serious pursuit; and in the lower ranks, habits of idleness, or the depression of servitude,

” Ep. 24.

perpetuated

perpetuated the evil. The clergy only and the monks were not inattentive to improvement: even they pursued science, in all its branches, with an ardor unknown to other times. But I have said what that science was, how imperfect were the views they entertained of it, and how rude the taste which directed every measure of attainment. With half their toil, how vast comparatively are the heights we ascend! But the time will be, when posterity shall look back on our proud achievements, and smiling at our insufficiency shall pity us.

Here would be the place for an account of those eminent men, whose labors served, at least, to keep alive the expiring lamp of science, and for the analysis of their works. But to the biographer does the first rather belong; and the review of works, which have little in them to amuse, would by many be deemed nugatory. — From the conquest to the end of the period I have described, I find a list of about a hundred and forty writers on various subjects, most of whom were monks, and none of whom were laymen. — France, at the same time, and other countries, were equally prolific. — They wrote commentaries on the scriptures, full of allegories and whimsical allusions; tracts on religion and the moral duties, which had little tendency to develope

General view
of learned
men.

or to enforce the obligations of either ; and histories of the lives of saints and of their miracles, which to us only prove that they knew little of the mechanical powers of nature, and that their credulity was unbounded. I shall elsewhere enumerate our principal historians, and state their respective merits¹⁹.

The
Polycraticon.

The most curious work of the age is the *Polycraticon* of John of Salisbury, (or *de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*,) dedicated to Thomas a Becket, while chancellor of England. Herein, with much accuracy, he describes the manners of the great, and with freedom censures their amusements, their want of science, and their unprofitable waste of time. With equal boldness he speaks of churchmen and of the monks, blaming their ambition and their departure from primitive discipline. When, some years back, I read the *Polycraticon*, it seemed, I thought, to mark great erudition, being replete with citations from the best classical writers ; but it was an erudition not well digested, which a sound judgment did not always guide, and the expression of which was often loose and affected. It has also been observed, that the author not unfrequently loses sight of his own times, describing manners and

¹⁹ See the preface.

customs which belonged to the Romans, and not to the inhabitants of Britain in the twelfth century. Notwithstanding these imperfections, the *Polycraticon* is a valuable monument of the literature of the age in which it was written, and of the virtue, the good sense, and the learning of its author. — To the same munificent patron he addressed another work, entitled *Metalogicon*, which is a defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, as then taught by the ablest masters, whom he enumerates, and which may be considered as containing the best account of the state of those sciences.

It is time to close this *view*, which might yet Conclusion. be widely extended, would my limits permit it. But enough, I hope, has been said, to fix the general outline, and to throw light, where it was necessary, on the preceding history. The age, I own, was dark; but it was a darkness arising from the obvious state of things. More light would have led into more error. As it was, the great system became gradually unfolded; effect arose from cause, uniformly and progressively operating; and success and stability were ensured. Besides, the mind that divests itself of modern habits and modern prejudices, and goes back with some good temper into the times, I have described, will discover virtue that it may

imitate, learning that it may admire, maxims that it may copy. The man is unequitable, who, possessing but one standard, measures by it all the characters and events of other days, and on their correspondence with it pronounces. It was my wish to be more just.

A P P E N D I X I I.

ON LORD LYTTTELTON'S CHARGES against BECKET and ALEXANDER III. drawn from the Cottonian MS.

His lordship's first charges. — The question stated. — A remarkable circumstance. — Baronius vindicated. — Also Christianus Lupus. — The case of the Cottonian MS. — Foliot's letter examined — And rejected as spurious. — It's further contents. — His lordship's charge against Alexander III. — The fact stated. — And the charge proved to be groundless. — Conclusion.

THEY who have read the elaborate *History of the Life of King Henry II.* by George Lord Lyttelton, will have observed, perhaps, with some surprise, how much, on many occasions, our views have varied. And this, I believe, may be accounted for. But it is in delineating the character of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, that we have been most discordant, and

in stating certain parts of his conduct. Here we drew from different sources: the noble lord, from a letter of Foliot, bishop of London, extant in the Cottonian collection of MSS; and I, from the writers of the primate's life, and the historians of the age. The authority of these he disregarded, and I, with as little ceremony, disregarded the letter of Gilbert Foliot. It becomes me now to say, why I did so; as also to state other matters, which are immediately connected with it. An extract from his lordship's history will fully enounce the subject. Having stated the behaviour of the primate at Clarendon, which he represents as highly censurable, and even as impious, the noble historian observes:

His lordship's
first charges.

“ In my relation of this transaction there
“ are some particulars of great importance, which
“ differ from *all the accounts* that have been
“ hitherto given by other writers: but they are
“ founded upon the most *unquestionable authority*,
“ upon a letter written by Gilbert Foliot,
“ then bishop of London, to Becket himself,
“ during his exile, concerning this matter. I
“ have before made some use of other passages
“ in this letter, which, among many other

¹ Vol. ii. p. 357.

“ epistles to and from the archbishop, has been
“ preserved in a manuscript, which appears to
“ be of that age, in the most valuable collection
“ of our English antiquities, the Cotton library.
“ A very strong presumptive proof of the truth
“ of the facts attested there, relating to Becket’s
“ behaviour, and that of the other bishops in the
“ council of Clarendon, their remaining uncon-
“ tradicted by the primate himself, who, if he
“ had not been silenced by the testimony of his
“ own conscience, must have loudly complained
“ of such a misrepresentation, capable of being
“ disproved by all his brethren then present, to
“ whom he might have appealed against the
“ calumny invented by Foliot. But he never
“ answered this letter.—It must also be observed,
“ that Baronius, who, in writing of these times,
“ has transcribed several letters out of the Vatican
“ manuscript of the same collection, and parti-
“ cularly that to which this appears to be an
“ answer, has *omitted* to transcribe or mention
“ this: and (what is no less remarkable) in the
“ printed edition made at Brussels, from the
“ Vatican manuscript, this is also *left out*. By
“ which *suppression of evidence*, upon a point so
“ important to the character of one of their great-
“ est saints, we may judge of the *credit due to the*
“ *clergy of that church in ecclesiastical history.*”

To repel these three charges, which no laudable spirit dictated, shall be my first care. I will then show, that the boasted epistle of Foliot is not entitled to the smallest credit, which should weigh on the mind of the impartial and temperate historian. — Could I call the noble writer from his tomb, over which science and the muses have not yet ceased to weep, I would do it most willingly, and with him freely enter on a discussion, to which his name alone has given importance. I should convince him, I think, that he erred. And may not the voice of truth even pierce beyond the grave, and cheer the departed spirits of the wise and good!

The question
stated.

While the primate was at Pontigny, in 1166, meditating censures against the king and the suffragans of his diocese, he received a letter from them²; to which he replied³. But suspecting from the style and character of the address, that it was written by Foliot, (which he more than insinuates in this reply,) he also wrote, in great warmth and irritation, another letter to the bishop himself⁴, justifying his own conduct, and replying more amply to the charges, which the letter of the suffragans had urged. Foliot answered;

² Vol. i. p. 209.

³ Vol. i. p. 212.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 218.

and this answer is the important document, which his lordship has brought to light, which he styles a *most unquestionable authority*, building on it the unfavorable representation he has drawn of the primate's character, though some particulars, he owns, differ from *all the accounts* that other writers had given. Nor is he satisfied himself to possess the treasure, he had found. He brings a weighty charge against all the historians of a church, hitherto peculiarly noted as ecclesiastical writers, singling out two in particular, and imputing to them (what, if true, would blast the fairest fame,) a wilful *suppression of evidence*.

There are extant in many libraries, in this country and abroad, various manuscript collections of the letters which were written, during the controversy between Henry II. and Becket. So much had it interested the general attention of Europe. But fortunately my inquiries, by the circumstances of the present question, have been confined to the Vatican library in Rome, and to that of Sir Robert Cotton, preserved in the British museum. The kind labor of two gentlemen, to whom I feel myself much indebted, has, from both those quarters, supplied me with every necessary information.

The library of the Vatican palace possesses, besides,

six volumes in M S of inferior note which have reference to the subject, three of distinguished eminence, to which modern writers, on the ecclesiastical events of the twelfth century, have sometimes had recourse. The numbers are 1220, 6024, 6027. But the last is an exact copy, with a few amendments, of 1220, taken in the fifteenth century. The dates of the other two which are originals, but which vary much in the matter they contain, and in their general arrangement, are not clearly ascertained, though they seem coeval with, or not very distant from, the events therein related, and the noble personages, whose correspondence they record. They bear those characters, which the antiquary understands. But as No. 6024 contains much extraneous matter, such as the letters of popes who preceded the controversy, I shall confine myself to No. 1220, and this from another motive, which will soon appear.

This M S (after recording the life of Becket, which has been denominated the *Historia Quadripartita*, from its having been compiled by four different contemporary writers) opens with the various correspondence of those, who were concerned in the controversy. The letters are drawn from five distinct periods which divide the time of the dispute, forming five books, and are in

number 529. In the first book, the 126th letter, *Quæ vestro, Pater, in longinqua discessu*, is from the suffragan bishops to the primate: to which, his answer, *Fraternitatis vestræ scriptum*, the 127th letter, immediately succeeds. This should be followed by the other letter, on the same subject, which the primate then addressed to Gilbert Foliot, *Mirandum et vehementer stupendum*; but, by a preposterous arrangement, it is misplaced, being the 108th letter of the same book.—The order of time, in regard to other parts of the correspondence also, has been little attended to: but when letters are without dates, as are most in this collection, it demands great attention to give to each its proper place.—We must now look for Foliot's reply, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, to the last letter of the primate, and which the noble lord has extracted from the Cottonian MS.

In no part of the whole Vatican collection of MSS does it exist.

But there is a circumstance regarding it, which must not be suppressed.—To the manuscript is prefixed a double *Index*, the first of which contains the titles of the letters of the first and second books: and the second is the *Index* to the first book only. In this second *Index*, the letter of Foliot, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, is

A remarkable
circumstance.

twice set down, once after the primate's address to him, *mirandum & vehementer stupendum*, which is its proper place, and a second time, after the letter of Becket to the suffragans of Canterbury, *fraternitatis vestræ scriptum*. Notwithstanding this cautious reference, it is not to be found in the body of the collection, in either of the pages to which it is referred, or in any other part of the work. Nor yet has the omission caused any chasm or defect in the pages, which proceed in a regular and uniform order. — The collector, therefore, of the letters, knew of the epistle of Foliot; or he had before him, at least, an *Index* which he copied, and which exhibited its title, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*. They are the first words of the letter. Why then did he not transcribe it into the body of his work? — Undoubtedly, he had it not. And this will be more easily admitted, when it is known, that the same *Index* contains the titles of other letters, for the omission of which there could be no motive, which are not to be found in the body of the collection. Only in the fifth part, do the table of contents and the subsequent book exactly tally. Sometimes the *Index* exceeds, and sometimes the body of the work. And this, I believe, is often the case in many manuscript collections. I wish also

to observe, that in No. 6024 are many letters, which the MS I have just examined, does not contain, and *vice versa*. Who the collector of either was, does not appear, though some writers have ascribed No. 1220 to the care of the honest and learned John of Salisbury. For this opinion there is no authority. — In a letter to cardinal Gratian, after the reconciliation with his master, Becket writes thus: “ I send you the
“ letters regarding our disputes, which have
“ come to my hands, that if any copies should
“ be wanting, they may be supplied from them.” It appears, therefore, that the collection was made very early.

The Vatican library then gives us nothing, but the mere *title* of Gilbert Foliot's letter twice repeated. — And shall Baronius be charged with the *suppression of evidence*, as the noble lord asserted, because in writing of those times, and transcribing letters from the Vatican, he omitted to mention that of Foliot? Or shall the same crime be imputed to the Brussels editor of the letters, who was admitted to the MSS of the Vatican? Or through them, shall the whole clergy of the Catholic church, as ecclesiastical writers, be wantonly traduced?

Baronius used No. 1220, as a note affixed to Baronius vindicated.
the general catalogue of the library declares. But

could he thence transcribe a letter, which the manuscript itself did not contain? was the circumstance of the *Index*, which possibly he never saw, of sufficient authority to induce him to make further researches into the libraries of Europe? Baronius was a writer of history, and not a compiler of MSS. Besides, in no part of the voluminous collection, he had before him, is it even hinted that such a letter had been written by Foliot, I mean, in the whole body of the five books. How unjustly has the venerable cardinal been accused?

Alfo Christianus
Lupus.

Christianus Lupus (Wolf,) the editor of the printed collection of letters, published at Brussels, in 1682, copied No. 6027 of the Vatican, which itself, as before observed, is a transcript of No. 1220. But No. 6027 does not even contain the double *Index* of 1220, and consequently not the smallest reference to Foliot's letter. The transcriber of the MS discovered the error of the *Index*; and Lupus copied him. Can this be termed a culpable omission?

The reflection on our ecclesiastical writers I dismiss, as too narrow and malevolent, to merit a moment's thought.

In the library of the Lambeth palace, is likewise a manuscript collection of the same letters, in number 360, which I had the liberty to examine, and which bears

all the marks of antiquity. But the letter of Foliot is not there, though it contains that of the suffragans, and the two replies of the primate.

We must then recur to the Cottonian collection. Here, I acknowledge, the letter is, and it seems to be authentic. it is equally so with the MS itself, which contains 562 letters, and though without date, appears to be ancient. The division of the books, and the arrangement of materials, correspond, with very little variation, with No. 1220 of the Vatican. How far the contents themselves correspond, I cannot say, but as there are 33 more letters in this MS; than in that of Rome, some difference there must be, and the circumstance proves that they are not copies from one another. Why a particular letter should be here, that is not in other collections, might be made a question, if all the MSS were not known to vary. But besides the letter of Foliot, the omission of 32 other letters is to be accounted for, which are not in the Vatican collection.

I dare assert, from the silence of Becket, and of John of Salisbury, and of others, who would not have shrunk from the discussion, that the letter of Foliot never came to the primate's hands. It contains nothing, but what, with ease, they could have refuted, as they did the similar

The case of
the Cottonian
MS.

charges in the address of the suffragans. But if the letter (from what motives I pretend not to fathom, unless from a consciousness in the writer, that it was palpably libellous) was never sent to Becket, its not having found its way into the Vatican collection, must cease to raise surprise. Still it was written; might be preserved by the author; or be circulated among his friends, and surviving him and them, would be admitted into future collections, particularly into such as should be made at home. But whether it exists in any other, than the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, I know not; though from the silence of the noble historian, who made the inquiry, the negative may be fairly presumed.

Foliot's letter
examined.

Being thus in possession of the letter, its *authority*, which his lordship terms *unquestionable*, remains to be examined. Yet it differs, he owns, in *some particulars of great importance*, from *all accounts* before given by other writers; but even then, he elsewhere contends^s, its authority is paramount; and “therefore that, whatever is said by any “of those writers, inconsistent therewith, deserves no credit.” Yet Foliot, after all, was a fallible man; Foliot had no senses whereby to

^s Vol. iv. p. 145.

judge,

judge, than what others possessed; and Foliot was the primate's enemy.

The reader will obligingly revert to the letter of the suffragans and its charges⁶, and to Becket's double reply⁷. Thereby he will be competent to form a better judgment of Foliot's letter, of which the noble lord has given us a corrected copy; and my correspondent has supplied me with another. The whole is far too voluminous to be inserted; nor would it, perhaps, be read.

1. After having complained, that the primate had singled him out, on whom to vent his passion, Foliot proceeds to exculpate himself from the charge of having ambitioned the see of Canterbury. This he does in a solemn manner. He then details the circumstances of Becket's own promotion, which he represents as most uncanonical, having been effected, contrary to the wishes of all good men, by the menaces and peremptory mandate of the king. He retorts on him the charge of ambition. "Who does not
" know," he says, "that you obtained the post
" of chancellor by the means of many thousand
" marks, and advancing, with that gale, into the
" port of Canterbury, you finally reached to its

⁶ Vol. iv. p. 168.

⁷ Ibid. p. 170. 175.

“ see:” on which, he afterwards observes, all the eyes of his heart had been cast, and to occupy which, when Theobald expired, he had hurried from the Norman coast into England. Yet what defects, or merit of character, he says, had he to plead? He then laments the church’s liberty, which, by the violence of his election, had received a mortal stab; speaks of his own and his brethren’s weakness, who had given way to the commands of the king; and confesses, that what the church and they had since suffered, was a just judgment, which he and others, by a secret impulse of the holy spirit, had, at that time, presaged.

This charge, which Foliot dilates, had been brought by the suffragans, and to it the primate had given two explicit replies, referring the bishops to their own consciences, and to the facts which attended his election, known to the court of the young king, and to all who were present. On the faith of many contemporary historians, I stated the other leading circumstances. But John of Salisbury, a name which, at any time, must carry as great weight as that of Foliot, has himself, in examining the letter of the suffragans, refuted this very charge. He writes to Becket. “ The bishop of London,” he observes, “ as is known to all men, was the

“ first author of the schism, an prompted by
 “ the ambition of *archepiscopising*, as many sus-
 “ pected, he moved and fomented the discord.”
 “ Nor do I heed the lies,” he goes on, “ which
 “ he dared to advance concerning your election,
 “ for I was myself present, and heard, and saw.
 “ *He alone* was not pleased with your promotion,
 “ having himself, as it then evidently appeared,
 “ and does appear, aspired to the dignity
 “ of your see. But his opposition soon ceased,
 “ while many arraigned his ambition and his
 “ insolence. Whatever, therefore, might be the
 “ thoughts of his mind, of which God is the
 “ judge, he was amongst the first who voted for
 “ you, and his applause, when, it was ended,
 “ was almost the most strongly marked.” —
 Whether Becket paid many thousand marks to
 be made chancellor, I know not. But it seems
 not probable; and the fact, if true, reflects
 disgrace on the king.

2. Foliot portrays, in charming colors, the
 prosperous condition of the church and state,
 from the time of the king's accession, when, on
 the promotion of Becket, a sad reverse ensued.
 Strife rose on strife, he says, which a prudent
 conduct might have checked, and that led

* Ed. Bruxes. l. i. ep. 161.

the way to the measure, which the king adopted, of collecting and enforcing the royal customs. “The observance of which,” he proceeds, “when required from me and the suffragan bishops of your see, because in some of them the liberty of the church of God seemed to be oppressed, we refused our assent, unless to those things, which, saving the honor of God and our own order, could be complied with. The king demanded our absolute submission. But, by no means, could that be obtained from us, which was adverse to the liberty of the church and the fealty due to our lord the pope. On this account, assemblies were summoned, councils were convoked. What was done at London, and again at Oxford, it is needless to repeat. But the transactions of *Clarendon* I will bring to your recollection, where, *for three successive days*, the whole business was, to draw from us an absolute promise of submitting to the customs and dignities of the realm. For there we stood with you, whom we deemed to stand firm in the spirit of God. We stood immoveable, we stood unabashed, we stood to the ruin of our fortunes to the torture of our bodies, to submit to exile, even to meet the sword, should the Lord so permit. What father had ever children

“ more concordant with his wishes? More unani-
“ mous? *We were all shut up in one room.* But on
“ the *third day*, when the great men and the
“ nobles of the land were enraged to madness,
“ suddenly we heard an alarm; and entering
“ *our chamber*, without their cloaks, and with
“ threatening arms, they thus addressed us; “ Hear,
“ you who despise the statutes of the realm,
“ who refuse the orders of your sovereign. These
“ hands, these arms, these bodies which you
“ behold, are not ours: they are the king’s, at
“ this instant, to be employed to avenge his in-
“ juries, as his will or even his nod, shall direct.
“ Whatever his command may be, we shall
“ deem it most just. Be again advised; comply,
“ while you may, that you may escape a danger,
“ which soon will be inevitable.” — “ What
“ now was done? Who fled? Who turned his
“ back? Whose courage sank? Your letter re-
“ proaches, that, in the day of battle, we re-
“ treated; that we did not advance against the
“ enemy; that we did not oppose ourselves, as
“ a rampart, before the house of God. Let
“ him judge between us: let him judge, for
“ whose sake we stood, for whose sake, we
“ were not bent by the menaces of the great:
“ let him judge, who fled, who was the

“ deserter. Surely, that noble and resolute
“ man, Henry of Winchester, stood firm, and
“ Nigel of Ely, and Robert of Lincoln, and
“ Hilary of Chichester, and Jocelin of Salisbury,
“ and Bartholomew of Exeter, and Richard of
“ Chester, and Roger of Worcester, and Robert
“ of Hereford, and Gilbert of London. But a
“ precursor still was wanting. They therefore,
“ esteeming wordly things as filth for Christ and
“ the church, exposed themselves and what was
“ theirs. Let truth be spoken: let that be
“ presented before the sun, which was done in
“ our presence, and under our eyes. The
“ general of the army turned his back; the
“ leader of the field fled. My lord of Canterbury,
“ *withdrawing from the society and the deliberation*
“ *of his brethren*, and conferring some time
“ *apart*, returned soon to us, and abruptly
“ spoke thus: — *It is my master's will that I*
“ *forswear myself; and I now submit to it and incur*
“ *perjury, afterwards to do penance, as I shall be*
“ *able.* — At the words we stood amazed, and
“ with eyes fixed on one another, sighing we
“ lamented the fall of a man, whose virtue and
“ firmness we had been taught to admire.
“ With the Lord there is no yea and no; and
“ we had hoped that his disciple could not have
“ been thus shaken. When the head languishes,

“ soon does the evil reach the other members.
“ He complying with the demand, and on the
“ word of truth promising, without reserve,
“ faithfully to obey in future the royal dignities
“ and the ancient customs of the realm, by the
“ recollection of the oldest men publicly brought
“ forward and committed to writing, then, in
“ virtue of obedience, commanded us to bind
“ ourselves by a similar obligation. Thus did
“ strife cease, and concord was restored to the
“ priesthood and the state.”

Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, delivered in a pomp of words, to which the candor of honest truth is little used. But the historians of the age some of whom, Roger Hoveden and Radulphus de Diceto, were, probably, from their situation, present on the occasion, have told another story, which, hardly in a single instance, accords with this. I refer the reader to my own statement of the event⁹.—Nor is it even alluded to in the whole collection of letters, many of which bear reference to the transactions of Clarendon, written some of them by men who condemned the general conduct of the primate. All historians, all writers who recorded the events of the day, and what incidents had preceded

⁹ Vol. i. p. 94.

it, uniformly speak of the *defection* of the bishops, and of the *firmness* of Becket. The instance in the council of his complying with the king's demands, I related; but that was not the profane weakness, which Foliot has brought to light. Yet it happened, as he states it, in a public assembly, or at least, before the eyes and in the hearing of all the bishops, who attended. And Foliot alone shall retain it on his memory? — And the bishops shall never attempt to charge the primate with it, when, in irritation of mind, they blamed his conduct; and their own, in the eyes of Europe, demanded an apology? — And the contemporary writers, and their immediate followers, in collecting events and in recording them, shall not have heard of so glaring an occurrence, as the fall of Becket in a public meeting? — They all relate a less striking weakness. — And John of Oxford, the president of the council, Henry's chaplain, and other friends to the king, and the king himself, in their various correspondence and public conferences, shall never disclose the notorious circumstance? — In the breast of Foliot it remained locked up, effaced from all other recollection, till, two years afterwards, on a particular occasion, he shall deem it expedient to reveal it! The meeting of Clarendon was in 1164, and in 1166 Gilbert wrote his

letter. — But the noble lord has allowed the general silence and the contrary assertions, in competition with which, he maintains, that the *single authority* of Foliot is *most unquestionable*, and that their narrations, when inconsistent with it, deserve no credit. In what circumstances then, does the testimony of one man weigh thus heavy?

According to the rules of the soundest criticism, whereby the authority of writers is ascertained, then only does the voice of *one* preponderate, when his competitors were not coeval with the events they relate, or were distant from the scene, or their credulity, or notorious inattention, often led them into errors, or they wrote under an influence, which might cloud the understanding, and pervert the judgment. But this will not apply to the men, whose honest page stands in direct opposition to the frothy tale of Foliot. Rather himself becomes suspicious, for he was Becket's enemy, and he wrote under the additional influence of a provoked and resentful mind.

But how happened it; if Foliot was in possession of a fact, which could have for ever sunk the character of the primate, that he still suppressed it at Northampton, when he spoke, and vigorously arraigned his conduct; and at Sens before the

pontiff; and in the various letters that he wrote, and particularly in that of the suffragans, penned by himself, with a direct view to carry every charge of weight home to the primate's breast? This address was written but a short time, we know, before the letter in question. Or could it be, that the suffragans themselves should not have insisted on its insertion, had Foliot, from an unaccountable delicacy, seemed disposed to withhold it? Nor did they mention it in a letter they wrote to the pope, which I quoted¹⁰. — To reconcile such difficulties is impossible. I would rather say, that Gilbert invented the shameless story; but that, in the consciousness of it, he never sent the letter, and therefore that it never reached the primate's hands. That he could depart from truth, John of Salisbury, as we have seen, did not hesitate to declare in regard to another charge, he had produced in the letter of the suffragans.

And rejected
as spurious,

But Foliot's own statement, I now discover, on the very face of it, destroys its own credibility, and compels me to believe, that he was not the author of the letter. His name shall thus be rescued from the infamy, to which, I thought, it lay exposed. In the extract I have given, he

¹⁰ Vol. i. p. 111.

speaks of the bishops being *shut up in one room* at Clarendon, and of *a third day* of the meeting, and of the nobles violently *entering their chamber*, and of the primate's *withdrawing*. — But none of these things happened at Clarendon. The bishops were not shut up; the meeting lasted but two days; the nobles did not enter their chamber; and the primate did not withdraw. To the subsequent meeting at Northampton every circumstance minutely applies. The reader will recur to it¹¹. — What then shall be said? Still shall it be maintained, that the *authority* of Foliot can even invert these facts, which historical evidence has stated? Or shall it be admitted, that, in the space of two years, his recollection had confounded the distinct events of the two meetings, which, at once must undo the whole credit of the man? Or rather, shall it not be admitted as most probable, that Foliot *did not write* the letter, but that it was composed by some enemy of Becket, probably after the events had ceased to be recent, who confounded the transactions of Clarendon and Northampton, two meetings a few months distant, and who, on the circumstance, in which all agreed, of the primate's weak promise once made to observe the customs,

¹¹ Vol. i. p. 111.

from ignorance or malevolence built up the varnished tale of premeditated perjury, with which he dared to load the memory of Becket? This conclusion, I maintain, is better founded than any other. It overthrows, indeed, the *authority* of the letter: but it saves from the charge of a direct falsehood, the fame of Foliot, and, on the minds of the dispassionate, it leaves unimpeached the virtuous, but mistaken, conduct of the English primate.

The circumstance of its being admitted on the *Index* of the Vatican MS, from some other copy, and into the Cottonian collection, without affecting the real authenticity of the latter, remains easily accounted for. Also, on this supposition, it becomes obvious, why the collectors of the Vatican MS, in particular, did not insert a letter, which the primate and John of Salisbury had never seen, and which they could not leave to the care of those, whom the general correspondence might thereafter interest. The letter, then, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, which the noble writer of *Henry the Second's Life*, has drawn from the Cotton library, I pronounce, never to have been written by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London.

Its further
contents.

The evidence before me is such, as to command my conviction. To me, therefore, the

authority of the letter is at an end, and its contents merit not another thought: but others may wish to know what they are. — The writer proceeds to censure Becket's attempt to leave the kingdom; and he speaks of the king's astonishment, and of the gentleness of his behaviour, when the winds compelled him to return. He then enters on the transactions of Northampton, relating the complaint preferred by the marshal, which was the occasion of the summons, and of the consequent charges. — But here again he departs from the statement given by other historians; and having mentioned the primate's ready acquiescence in the first sentence pronounced on him, he enters into a labored discussion to prove, from the canons of the church, that he ought *not* to have submitted to the verdict of a lay tribunal, though he knew what the statutes of Clarendon had ordained; and some lines after he contradicts his first assertion, and establishes the power of the crown to decide in all feudal cases. We have language here, on the privileges of the church, as high as Becket ever uttered: but I think, I discover passages which Foliot could not have written. — He then reprehends his inconsistency in refusing to plead to the last charge, when by it he could have incurred no danger; and

he dares to extol the king's *gentle comportment*, when, on the last day of the meeting, the primate entered the castle, bearing his cross. Nor could Foliot, I think, have said this. He closes this account, by relating the general circumstances of Becket's escape into Flanders.

The writer next animadverts on that part of the primate's address, which exhorts the bishops even to expose their lives, if necessary, in the church's cause, and he sarcastically dwells on his own flight, as the laudable example which himself had set them! — But he shows, that there is even no cause for contention, since religion, and morality, and the faith of the church are not concerned. The dispute was with the king, regarding certain customs, which, in the time of his predecessors, he asserts, were observed, and on the present observance of which he insists. “These customs,” the writer says, “the king did not ordain; but, as the whole antiquity of the realm attests, he found them established.” — With what face could Foliot have written this, after the praise he had just given to the firmness of the bishops in opposing those customs; and the heavy censure passed on the supposed compliance of the primate? — He goes on to instance certain examples of episcopal moderation, the imitation of which

he recommends to Becket, if he hoped to surmount the king's resolution, rather than the use of censures, which the most prudent measures should direct. He describes the extensive power of the king, and, at the same time, his lowly and christian humility; and he dissuades strongly from every violent measure, which would be attended with real danger to the church. The king, he says, if gently dealt with, was himself disposed to revoke the royal customs, when it could be done with security and his own honor. The intemperate zeal of Becket obstructed every design.

He concludes with repeating the suffragans appeal to Rome, and with advice, which may moderate the primate's zeal, and prepare the way for the return of peace and concord.

The further view of this letter has confirmed my opinion, that it was not written by Foliot. Even the style seems to differ from any thing he has left behind him; and I can almost pronounce, from my familiarity with the language of the age, that it is not the production of the twelfth century. It rather seems the labored effusion of some frothy rhetorician. The date of the Cottonian MS is not decided. I shall not, however, insist on surmises, which have often led to error.

His lordship's
charge against
Alexander III.

The noble historian has yet another charge, which it is my duty to examine. — In the same Cottonian collection of letters, he found one from Alexander, the Roman bishop, to Roger archbishop of York, wherein he tells him that, in compliance with the king's petition, *he permits* prince Henry to be crowned in England, and commands that prelate, when called on by the king, to perform the ceremony. — From this circumstance, the noble lord draws a heavy accusation against the pontiff: “A more scandalous
“ instance of double dealing can no where be
“ found,” he says: “And it will be seen that
“ his holiness, in the progress and consequences
“ of this business, went still greater lengths,
“ with the most *astonishing impudence of dissimu-*
“ *lation* ¹².” — Observing, likewise, that *this* letter was not in the Brussels edition, he again censures Christianus Lupus, and through him the Vatican collector, for a second *suppression of evidence*.

But the letter is *nowhere* extant in any manuscript of the Vatican; consequently, Christianus Lupus, as I before remarked, is free from blame. He could not copy what to him did not exist. — His lordship mentions, that the Bodleian

¹² Vol. ii. p. 541.

library contains this letter. I, therefore, infer, that the boasted epistle of Foliot is not there; or the information would not have been withheld: another circumstance tending to destroy its authenticity. — We will now see, whether the letter of Alexander, *Quanto per charissimum filium*, can establish a better claim than that of Gilbert Foliot.

After the death of Theobald, but before the appointment of Becket to the see of Canterbury, Henry first conceived the design of crowning the young prince, and lest Roger, archbishop of York, whom he then hated, should contend for the honor, he obtained a bull from Rome, which empowered him to appoint any prelate of the realm to perform the ceremony¹³. — Yet of the year 1165, the Vatican MS has a letter, dated from Montpellier¹⁴, as Alexander was returning to Rome, which, at the request of that same Roger, grants him permission *to crown the king*, as his predecessors, it says, had anciently done. This is not true; but the measure, it seems, had no reference to prince Henry. — In 1170, the king resumed his former design, and as Becket was absent, to whose see the privilege

The fact
stated.

¹³ l. v. ep. 45.

¹⁴ l. i. ep. 10.

appertained, he applied again to Rome, sending an embassy, at the head of which was John of Oxford¹⁵. By his means, it is pretended, the letter or bull was obtained, which the Cottonian MS has preserved. On the return of the ministers, indeed, it was publicly rumored, that the pontiff had consented, and that a bull was given¹⁶. This second application to Rome evinces, that Henry did not value any prior grant.

Roused by the news, which tended to affect the honor of his see, the primate wrote to Alexander, mentioning the report, and urging him to do justice¹⁷. And then it was, that letters came from Rome, addressed to Roger of York and to all the bishops of the realm, forbidding them, under pain of censures, to do any act against the dignity of the church of Canterbury, or to presume to crown the young king¹⁸. The letters, with an inhibition from himself to the same effect, were sent by Becket into England¹⁹. But the ceremony of the coronation, notwithstanding, was performed by Roger, and he and

¹⁵ P. 273.

¹⁶ l. iv. ep. 44. l. v. ep. 24, 25.

¹⁷ Ep. 24.

¹⁸ l. iv. ep. 41, 42.

¹⁹ Ep. 44.

others were, afterwards, excommunicated for the fact, and for their disobedience to the mandates of his holiness. — These deeds are all extant in the Vatican and Cottonian collections.

Could it now be proved, that Alexander, at the request of the king, empowered the archbishop of York to crown prince Henry, and in the same month, as the dates bear testimony, forbade the same, in compliance with the urgent prayer of Becket, the charge of *duplicity*, with which the noble lord has loaded his memory, he will have justly incurred. But the letter or bull to the archbishop, in the Cottonian MS, was not written by the Roman pontiff.

1. No one, at the time, pretended to have seen it. It was *rumored* only, that the pontiff had consented to the measure. “But what wise man,” observes John of Salisbury, “will give credit to their assertions, unless they produce the *authentic and original writings* ²⁰.” They did not produce them.

And the charge proved to be groundless.

2. Alexander, whose character I described as firm and upright, was incapable of such barefaced duplicity, which the most common observation would have detected, and have censured.

²⁰ l. v. ep. 18.

3. When Roger and the other bishops, after the coronation, were publicly charged with disobedience to the papal mandates, which forbade the measure, and were afterwards suspended, they produced no bull in their justification, nor pretended that it had been granted.

4. Alexander himself addressed three different letters to them²¹, in one of which he says: "But you, without the primate's consent, presumed to give your ministry or your approbation to the coronation of the prince, *while you were prohibited by the authority of the holy see and by my letters:*" and he denounces his censures on them. The bishops, one of whom was Roger, made no reply. They submitted to the sentence. *Astonishing*, truly, must have been Alexander's *impudence of dissimulation*, if, in the consciousness of his own duplicity, he could thus have provoked resentment and the reproach of base prevarication. Nor, on this supposition, was the forbearance of the bishops less wonderful.

5. When, soon afterwards, Becket issued the censures of Rome against Roger and the bishops of London and Salisbury, for having crowned the prince; though they were loud against the intemperate measure, as were their friends, still

²¹ Ep. 66, 67, 68..

not a word was said concerning the boasted grant from Alexander.

6. At Fretval, where the king and Becket were reconciled, while they were engaged in conversation, the primate entered on the subject of the late coronation, "which," he said, "had been done in violation of the rights of Canterbury, and by the usurpation of the archbishop of York, who, with a blind and rash ambition, had performed the ceremony, contrary to ancient usage, and contrary to the *prohibition of Rome*." — If ever, now will the Cottonian bull be produced. But Henry produced it not, though he was willing to justify his conduct. He produced *another bull*, that which, I said, he had obtained, after the death of Theobald, in order to check the interference even of the archbishop of York, and which empowered him to use the ministry of any prelate of his realm". Need I proceed?

7. But the noble lord maintains, "that Henry was restrained from speaking of it to Becket, by the *particular desire and injunction of the pope*". — Had the Cottonian MS contained any document, which could establish this

²¹ Ep. 45.

²² Ibid.

²⁴ Vol. ii. p. 566.

desire or injunction, some weight might be allowed to it: but, extraordinary as it may seem, no vestige of it is there, or *in any work that was ever written.* I except the noble author's own *history*. — I will also observe that, in stating his account of the conference between Henry and the primate, his lordship has suppressed a fact, which had a tendency to weaken his favorite theory. Also, in the copy he has given of the bull from the Cotton MS, he makes Alexander say to the archbishop of York, “*because, quoniam*, it (the “right of coronation”) belongs to your office:” whereas in the original the word is *quantum*, that is, “as far as it belongs.” Obviously, a different sense. That the alteration was made, with any sinister view, I pretend not to suggest. But I could adduce, if urged to it, other instances of uncandid representation, to which his lordship has descended, in describing the controversy between Henry and the primate, and in treating ecclesiastical concerns.

But, if I reject the bull as *spurious*; it will be asked, by whom it was written; or by what means it found its way into the Cottonian collection?

It was written by John of Oxford, or by those sent on the embassy, who were, at the same time, the authors of the rumor, which I mentioned.

But I am inclined to think that it was never delivered to the bishops or to the king, at least, in such a manner, as to make them believe it was authentic. On more occasions than one, it is insinuated in the general collection of letters, that Henry's design was to mortify the primate, and that he pleaded no authority. That the bull did not come from Rome, I think, I have shown. — How it found its way into the Cottonian MS, is not my concern to investigate. But allow it only to have been written, and its insertion into the MSS, which were collected in this country, will cause little difficulty. It is not, however, I think, in that of Lambeth. And why the Roman collections should not have it, may be easily understood.

Thus, I trust, I have proved, to the conviction of every candid man, that the *letter* of Foliot, and the *bull* of Alexander, are not such documents, as the critical and prudent historian should have relied on. I have proved more than that. The character of Becket is then relieved from the foul aspersions of *wilful perjury*, and that of Alexander from the charge of *duplicity* and *impudent dissimulation*. With what incaution were the accusations made! The easy labor of a few researches, and some reflection on common characters and obvious facts, would have

Conclusion.

led to sufficient detection, and have saved the mind from error. I have thrown down the basis, on which the noble lord had raised one part of his specious structure. This must fall. And who shall regret, that the temple of Truth be embellished and enlarged, while the materials of error be every where overthrown? They will mix with the mouldering battlements of despotism and superstition, and serve to enrich the soil which they had so long encumbered and disgraced.

A P P E N D I X I I I .

Song written by **RICHARD** and
BLONDEL, jointly, by which
the place of the king's confinement
was discovered.

Domna vostra beutas
Elas bellas faifos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Don fieü empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia.

*Your beauty, Lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite:
Yet this I patient see,
While all are shunn'd like me.*

Si bel trop affansia
Ia de vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que l'autra des beisan
To can de vos volria,

*No nymph my heart can wound,
If favor she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear,
Than love with others share.*

Song by RICHARD the FIRST, COEUR
DE LION, written during his
imprisonment in the TOUR TÉNÉ-
BREUSE, or Black Tower.

Ia nus hom pris non dira sa razon
Adreschement se com hom dolens non;
Ma per conort pot il faire canson.
Prou ai d'amis, mas poure son li don,
Onta i auron se por ma reenzon,
Soit fait dos yver pris.

*No wretched captive of his prison speaks,
Unless with pain, and bitterness of soul;
Yet consolation from the muse he seeks,
Whose voice alone misfortune can control.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile,
Will none, his sovereign to redeem expend
The smallest portion of his treasure vile?*

Or fachen ben mi hom e mi baron
Engles , Norman Pettaven et Guafcon,
Qe ge n'avoie fi povre compaignon
Qeu laiffasse por aver en preifon
Ge nil di pas , por nulla retraifon
Mas anquar foige pris.

*Though none may blush that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endur'd,
Yet know my English, Norman, Gascon Peers,
Not one of you should thus remain immur'd;
The meanest subject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!*

Car fachon ben per ver certanament
Qu'hom mort ny pris n'a amye ne parent
Quant il me laissent por or ni por argent.
Mal m'es de my, may perz m'es por ma gent
Qu'apres ma mort n'auron reperzhament
Tan longament foi pris.

*Too true it is, so selfish human race !
"Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,"
Since here I pine in bondage and disgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind.
Much for myself I feel, yet ah ! still more
That no compassion from my subjects flows ;
What can from infamy their names restore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes should close.*

Non meravil s'eu ai lo cor dolent
Qe messire met ma terra en torment
No li membra de nostre sagrament
Qe nos feimes andos cominalment
Ben fai de ver qe gaire longament
Non ferai ge sous pris.

*But small is my surprise, though great me grief,
To find, in spite of all his solemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cause has courage to espouse,
Though lofty tow'rs obscure the cheerful day,
Yet, through the dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind hope, in gentle whispers, seems to say,
"Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."*

Mi compagnon cui j'amai e cui j'am
Cil de Chail & Cil de Pensavin
Di lor chanzon qil non sont pas certain
Unca vers els non hai cor fals ni vain
Sil me guerrent il feron qe vilain
Tan com ge soie pris.

*Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh Chail and Pensavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlasting lays,
My foes against me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit, or fraud appear:
That infamy will brand to latest times
The insults I receive while captive here.*

Or sachent ben Enjevin e Torain
 E il Bachaliers qi son legier e fain
 Qen gombre soie pris en autrui main
 Il ma juvassen mas il no ve un grain
 De belles armes font era voit li plain
 Per zo qe ge foi pris.

*Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
 And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robust and brave,
 That duty now and love alike are vain,
 From bonds your sov'reign and your friend to save.
 Remote from consolation here I lie,
 The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
 Who all your zeal and ardor can defy,
 Nor leaves you ought but pity to bestow !*

On

On the death of RICHARD the FIRST,
by ANSELME FAYDITT, a
Troubadour.

For chaufa es et tot lo major dan,
El major dol, las ! q eu onc mais agues,
Et zo, don dei toz iors plaigner ploran,
M aven a dir en chantar et retraire,
De cel q era de valorz caps et paire
Li Reis valenz Rizard, Reis des Engles,
Es morz ; ai Deus ! cals perda et cals danzes !
Can estraing moz et qan greu per audir !
Ben a dur cor toz hom qi po sofrir.

*Now fate has filled the measure of my woes,
And rent my heart with grief unfelt before ;
No future blessings wounds like these can close,
Or mitigate the loss I now deplore.
The valiant Richard, England's mighty king,
The fire and chief of all that is good and brave,
Of tyrant Death has felt the fatal sting :
A thousand years his equal could not bring
The world from meanness and contempt to save.*

Morz es li Reis, et son passat mil an
Qanc tan pros hom no fo ne nol vit res
Ne ja mais hom non er del son fenblant
Tan larcs, tan pros, tan ardiz, tals donaire;
Q Alixandre lo reis, qe venqi Daire
No cuit qe tan dones ni tan messes,
Ni onc Karles ni Artus tan valgues,
Qa tot le mon sen fez, qin vol ver dir,
Als us doptar et als altres grazir.

*Not Alexander's self, whose slaught'ring sword
Each warlike nation of the earth subdu'd,
Not Charlemagne, nor Arthur, Britain's lord,
Could boast such prowess, worth, and fortitude.
In this corrupt, this base, perfidious age,
In truth and wisdom he had no compeer;
Of half the actors on the world's great stage,
His splendid virtues could the hearts engage,
The rest his strength and valor taught to fear.*

Meraveill me del fals Segle truan
 Qoi pot istar favis hom ni cortes.
 Pos re noille val bel dons ni faich prezan,
 Et donc per qe sefforzon paoc ni gaire?
 Qa oras a mostrat morz qe pot faire
 Qa un fol colp a lo meill del mon pres
 Totas lonors, toz los gauz, toz los bez?
 O mais vedem qe res noi pot grandir,
 Ben devriom menz doptar a morir?

*The friend of Virtue and of Honor's gone!
 For though to all her trumpets fame give breath,
 Yet vain are great and glorious deeds, for none
 Can shield the hero from the dart of Death!
 Since such the wretched state of human race,
 Why should we fear to mingle with the dead?
 For me I ask of God no other grace,
 Than instant to arrive at that blest place
 Where Richard's great and tow'ring soul is fled.*

Ai Seigner , reis valens , & qes faran
 Oimais armas , ni fort tornei espes ,
 Ne ricas corz , ni bel don alt et gran ;
 Pos vos noies qen eraz caps del aire ?
 Ne qes faran li livrat a mal traire
 Cil qe eron en vostre fervir mes ,
 Qatendion quel guierdon vengues ?
 Ni qes faran cels qes degran avir ,
 Qaviaz faich en gran ricor venir ?

*O potent Prince ! who now in feats of arms ,
 In tournaments , or splendid courts shall shine ?
 Or who to modest worth display the charms
 Of true munificence , with hand benign ?
 Ah ! where will Genius now a patron find ?
 Thy fond dependants an asylum , where ?
 No fost'ring father fate has left behind ,
 But all , abandon'd by the world unkind ,
 Fly to the arms of Death or wild Despair !*

Longa ira et duol vida avran ,
Et toz temps dol qar aissi lor es pres ;
Et Sarracin , Turc , Paian , & Persan ,
Qeos doptavon mais come nat de Maire ,
Creifferan tan dorgoill tot lor afaire ,
Qe plus greu ner lo sepolcre conques.
Qar Deus lo vol , car fil no lo volgues
Et vos seigner vesqiffes les mentir
De Soria los navengra fozir.

*Now Pagans, Turks, and Saracens elate ,
Who thought thee more than man of woman born ,
Exulting in thy sad , untimely fate ,
Will treat the Christian name with pride and scorn.
The holy sepulchre each day will be
A harder conquest to the faithful brave —
But such is God's unscrutable decree !
For Syria , had it been his will to free ,
He still had kept his champion from the grave !*

O mais non ai speranza qell an
 Reis ni princes qi cobrar lo faubes.
 Et cel Seigner qel vostre leu teran
 Devon gardar co fos de prez amaire ;
 Ni tal faron vostri dui valen fraire ,
 Li ioufner reis, el cortez cons Zoufres,
 Et qi en loc remanra de vos tres,
 Ben deu aver ferm cor & fin confir
 De toz bons aips et fi meteis iauzir.

*But where will prince or potentate be found
 The sacred tomb, like thee, to gain and save,
 Or like thy brothers, Henry, early crown'd,
 And courteous Geoffry, lov'd by all the brave !
 No chief like these remains of human race,
 Who day by day to certain conquest leads ;
 Their steps no future hero e'er will trace,
 And he who now presumes to claim their place,
 Must earn and keep it by transcendant deeds.*

E N V O Y.

Bel Seigner reis, cel Deus qes pardonaire,
Verais hom, verais vida, verais merces,
Vos faza tal pardon com ops vos es ;
Di qel tort avos pardon & falir,
Et membre li com lo saviez fervir.

*Oh ! most rever'd of all the sons of Fame !
For ev'ry crime may God thy pardon seal !
Remembering thou wert foremost to proclaim,
Throughout the earth the glory of his name,
And cause to assert with unremitting zeal.*

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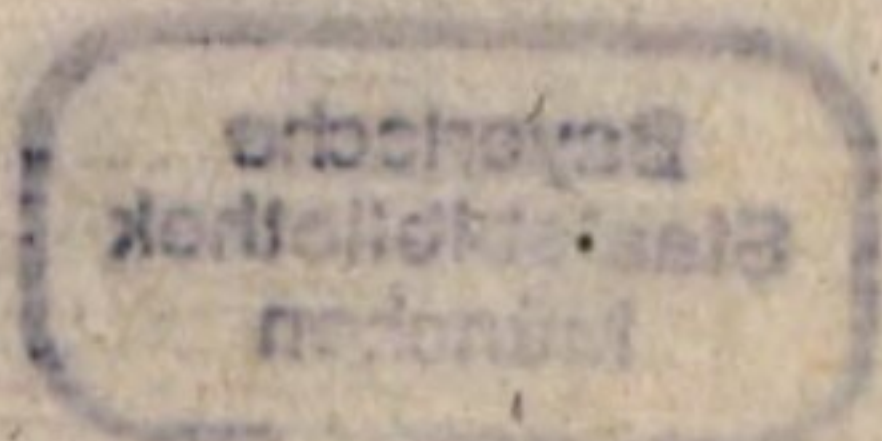
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